

Contemporary Review

incorporating THE FORTNIGHTLY

APRIL 1961

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Contemporary Review

April 1961 Founded 1866

incorporating The Fortnightly

FORUM FEATURE—

LIFE PEERS

LORD OGMORE

THERE are those who advocate a Single-Chamber Parliament but I am not one of them. I believe that a second Chamber is a necessity in the proper working of the Parliamentary system. In my view it is essential to bring to bear upon legislation and the major topics of the day the informed opinion of people who are not preoccupied with the problems of party politics. This is especially so in the case of a country such as ours which plays so important a part in world affairs. As the popular Chamber reflects current opinion so the second Chamber should safeguard the interests of posterity and be mindful of the views of minorities. It should always be able to provide specialist opinion upon the proposals that come before it. The second Chamber should never be a rival to the popular Chamber but be its complement. For this reason the second Chamber should never be directly elected by the people.

How does the House of Lords measure up to these requirements? Generally speaking, in structure it is imperfect, but in practice it works reasonably well. It will be recalled that in 1911 Parliament declared that its intention was to substitute for the House of Lords, as it then existed, a second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of a hereditary basis, and that this reform brooked no delay. In fact, the delay was brooked for

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47 years, until, indeed, 5-40 p.m. on April 30, 1958, when the first breach in the hereditary principle was made by the Royal Assent being given to the Life Peerages Bill.

For some time prior to July 1, 1957, the House of Lords had been dying. The Leader of the House, the Earl of Home, described it, at this period, as seriously near a breakdown in its machinery. This was because fresh blood was not being introduced of the kind and in the quantity needed to sustain an effective Opposition and because no payment was made to meet the expenses of Members. I, personally, objected strongly to this latter circumstance. I saw no reason why Peers, other than Ministers, should be expected to carry on the work of a House of Parliament at their own expense and out of their taxed income from other sources. I had a polite but tart correspondence with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject and formed part of a deputation led by the late Earl Jowitt to the then Leader of the House, the Marquess of Salisbury. Eventually, as from July 1, 1957, expenses certified by Peers as incurred for the purpose of attendance at Sitings or Committees of the House were allowed within a maximum of three guineas for every day of such attendance.

The payment of this expense allowance and the fresh blood brought in as Life Peers have galvanized the House into new life. I would almost say into joyous life, if such an adjective, when applied to the House of Lords, would not be regarded as flamboyant.

On the Second Reading of the Life Peers Bill, Lord Home told the House that its perilous situation could be eased if Life Peers could be appointed. He stressed the fact that the emphasis in appointment would be on persons who could assist the working of Parliament particularly by helping the Opposition. In addition, Life Peerages would enable the Prime Minister to draw upon a wider range of persons than formerly who could contribute their expert knowledge of various aspects of our national life to Parliament. The Bill would also enable women to be introduced as Members.

How have these declared intentions materialized in practice? The following so far have been appointed Life Peers:

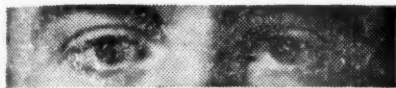
Lords Boothby, Ferrier, Fraser of Lonsdale, Geddes of Epsom, Granville-West, Shackleton, Stonham, Stopford of Fallowfield,* Taylor, Twining, James of Rusholme, Plowden, Robbins, Shawcross, Morrison of Lambeth, Craigton, Bossom, Dalton, Casey, Williams of Bamburgh, Molson, Peddie, Lindgren, Hughes, Walston, Fisher, Alport, and Baronesses Elliot of Harwood, Ravensdale of Kedleston, Swanborough, Wootton of Abinger, Horsbrugh and Summerskill of Ken Wood.

This list adds up to a total of 33. Breaking it down into party affiliations at the time of appointment there are:

Conservatives	...	...	...	10
Labour	...	...	...	14
Independents	...	...	...	9
Liberals	...	...	...	0

The reader may well ask, having regard to the declared objects of the Life Peerages Act, what sort of support for the Opposition is provided

* Lord Stopford of Fallowfield died on March 6, 1961.



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when the Conservative appointments number 10 and the Liberal none. I do not, by the way, object to Conservative appointments, as I would rather the Prime Minister recommend Life Peerages than Hereditary Peerages, and hope that he will always do so in future. But I object strongly to the fact that no Liberal Life Peerages have been created.

Let us look at the Liberal position. The following are the Liberal Peers who are Members of the House of Lords:

The Earl Amherst, the Earl of Gainsborough and Earl Temple of Stowe; Viscounts Clifden, Elibank, Esher, Samuel, Thurso and Wimborne; Lords Airedale, Amulree, Beveridge, Carnock, Colwyn, Grantchester, Harmsworth, Kilbracken,* Layton, Marchamley, Meston, Methuen, Mottistone, Moynihan, Northbourne, Nunburnholme, Ogmores, Ponsonby of Shulbrede, de Ramsey, Rea, Saye and Sele, Sinha, Sherwood, Stamp, Swaythling, Terrington, Whitburgh and Windlesham.

There are in all 37. But of these I count only six or seven as "active" peers, that is to say members who are in the Chamber day in and day out, the working members, the "journeymen" of the House without a sufficient supply of whom it would cease to exist. Of the rest, some owing to advanced age or ill-health never attend, some owing to business or professional commitments only at rare intervals. Others again are very useful in that they can be relied upon to attend and speak when called upon so to do on subjects of which they have special knowledge. The same circumstances apply, of course, to Hereditary Peers as a whole; indeed

* Lord Kilbracken formally joined the Liberals on March 9.

the Liberal figures of attendance are well above average in this category.

The contribution of the Liberal Peers, ably led by Lord Rea and indefatigably "whipped" by Lord Amulree, assisted by Lord Airedale, is a forceful one. Only recently the *Daily Telegraph* commented: "The severest critic of the Liberal Peers could not deny that they are both active and voluble." Nevertheless, this activity imposes a considerable and continuous strain upon Lord Rea and his colleagues. It is essential that the Liberal Peers be strengthened by the addition of Life Peers to their ranks.

In case there are any Liberals who question the need for such a reinforcement in a still predominantly Hereditary House, I would reply that not only is its work as a House of Parliament immensely important but also that any political party which neglects it and the platform it provides, does so at that party's peril. It is necessary that the Liberal point of view be put when the House considers the various matters before it. Indeed, so much impression does the small band of Liberal Peers make even now that, although Lord Rea aims to provide a speaker in every debate, if by chance he does not do so, bitter complaints and even allegations of sabotage are liable to be hurled against him from other parts of the House at his Party's silence.

What sort of reinforcements do the Liberal Peers need? The answer is: youngish or middle-aged men and women, active and intelligent, with some experience of public or political affairs, who are prepared to devote a considerable amount of time to the work of the House and to become "active" Back-Benchers.

In addition, *but only in addition, and not in substitution*, we would welcome the creation of Life Peers of a few illustrious Liberals of a riper vintage.

Why has this reinforcement of the Liberal ranks not been made? The Prime Minister, the Leader of the House, Viscount Hailsham and the former Leader, the Earl of Home, are all civilized and cultured men, with an historical sense and a feeling for fair play; why then has the Liberal Party been treated in this shabby fashion? I do not know the answer, but part of it may be that they have been under the impression that the Liberal leadership would not welcome such creations. This is not the case and I sincerely hope that soon we may have the pleasure of welcoming the first of the Liberal Life Peers to our Benches.

It is, of course, an immense privilege to be a Member of the House of Lords, and after a time if the Member attends regularly he or she develops a deep affection for it. The main defect of the House is that there are five times as many Conservative Peers as Liberal and Labour combined. This fact makes for some unreality on the Committee stage of Government Bills, as the Opposition knows that, however good its arguments may be, it can never defeat the Government, although a Conservative Back Bench amendment on an unimportant matter with Opposition support may do so occasionally. This situation in a revising Chamber is not healthy. Another result is a psychological one; the weight of conservative opinion on the Government side of the House is a constant and heavy load for any Radical to try and shift, and only the toughest can

struggle with it day in and day out.

Owing to the fact that in the last few years eminent but elderly statesmen have arrived from the Commons to add prestige to our House, the Government Front Bench is on an average two generations younger than its Labour opponent. The former is largely composed of Earls and Scotsmen; indeed if Scotland were to obtain Home Rule in the near future, it would not be a wind of change which would blow along the Government Front Bench, but a hurricane.

I have up to now been discussing the "journeymen" of the House who keep it going, but we must also consider, and not on party lines, the specialists who, in the words of Lord Home, add dignity, distinction, eminence and lustre to our debates, although, as he pointed out, of no use in piloting through it a White Fish Bill. In the ranks of those with special experience there are some lamentable gaps. The House, being mainly Hereditary, is over-strong in the landed interest, the City and the Services. Additions to it of Conservative creations usually follow the same pattern. There has been some broadening of the field in the creation of the Independent Life Peers, but the process needs to be widened considerably. It is desirable that distinguished figures from the Free Churches, the Arts, Science, Engineering, the Veterinary and certain other professions, national bodies such as the Gorsedd of Wales, cultural and social service organizations be included. The Prime Minister has obtained the creation of Lord Casey, a distinguished Australian statesman. He, it is to be hoped, will be the forerunner of several more Members from the overseas Commonwealth countries.

The Prime Minister has the opportunity, not only to right a wrong so far as the Liberal Party is concerned, but also to make of the House of Lords a Second Chamber which will be a model of its kind. Let us hope that Mr. Macmillan will seize this opportunity with a firm hand and a generous heart.

RECONCILIATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

PAUL DE HEVESY

Born in Hungary, the author settled in England some 30 years ago after a distinguished diplomatic career, which had included service at Buenos Aires, Constantinople, Vienna, Berne, Washington, Paris, Geneva, Lisbon and Madrid, where he was the last Minister Plenipotentiary to present credentials to King Alfonso XIII. He was also Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations and to the International Labour Office, member of the International Wheat Advisory Committee, and a member of the Committee for Post-War Reconstruction at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

THOUGH many years have elapsed since I retired from the diplomatic service—first that of the Hapsburg Monarchy and later that of Hungary—my interest in public affairs is as keen as ever. The subjects that most deeply engage my attention are peace, disarmament and international integration.

I was born 13 years after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and the period of my youth was overshadowed by the intense hatred that prevailed between France and Germany. This hostility towards the Germans was later shared, in consequence of their bitter experiences in the two World Wars, by Great Britain, the United States and other countries. It is therefore with a profound sense of relief and thankfulness that one can at last discern the gradual fading of the old animosities. Yet they are not quite gone; from time to time they are kindled into fresh flame by some trivial dispute or malicious propaganda. Since I no longer have access to the inner councils of active diplomacy, I cannot fairly judge whether these disconcerting lapses have any justification. I find it hard to believe that they are other than deliberate attempts at mischief and intrigue or crude appeals to a low variety of patriotism alien from the spirit of the modern age.

Special mention should be made of the unseemly rancour with which the British Press has frequently reviled the German Federal Chancellor, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, for things that he has neither said nor done, for errors and offences of which he has not been guilty. Again, the President of France, General Charles de Gaulle, has no less frequently been subjected to studied discourtesies and insults, and been made the butt of much clumsy ridicule on the part of factious scribblers and cartoonists. No doubt General de Gaulle has his weaknesses; but they are the weaknesses of a giant, by comparison with whom his assailants sink into a Lilliputian insignificance. Surely it is high time that the Press should regulate its standards in such matters according to a stricter and more scrupulous code, and take effectual measures to prevent its less worthy practitioners from transgressing the exact limits of good taste and good breeding.

It is much to be regretted that, at a time when all the Western nations should sink their differences in face of the common danger, the relations between Great Britain and France are so often strained. These unfortunate frictions are due to lack of mutual understanding and appreciation, and to mischievous attempts at reviving dormant suspicions and rivalries.

Addressing the Corinthians, Saint Paul declared that, when he had been

a child, he had spoken, understood, and thought as a child; but when he had become a man, he had put away childish things. The childhood of Europe has long vanished; but, alas, it does not seem that Europe has yet put away childish things. If it is to survive, Europe must make an effort to assert its manhood; and, since the threat of dissolution cannot be spirited away, that effort must be neither stinted nor delayed.

It is far from my intention to minimize Hitler's responsibility for the Second World War or to make light of the crimes of which he and his confederates were guilty. Nevertheless, now that the passions inflamed by war have subsided, cooler and fairer judgments may be heard. It is no longer seriously disputed that the Treaty of Versailles was unjust. Eminent statesmen of that time, such as General Smuts, had profound misgivings about signing it, because they were convinced that it raised more problems than it settled, and that it carried the seeds of another war. It was, in fact, the indefensible defects of the Treaty that gave Hitler the opportunity to wrest from the German people the absolute power that he needed to fulfil his nefarious aims and policies. The same argument applies to the four subsidiary Treaties: those of Trianon, St. Germain, Neuilly and Sèvres.

The unworkable and misleading requirement of unanimity, cunningly inserted into the Covenant of the League of Nations—just as a like requirement was later inserted into the Charter of the United Nations Organization—effectually prevented any peaceful change. So the Peace Treaties could not be revised and the situation steadily deteriorated until it became utterly intolerable. All the Western Powers now acknowledge that the Paris Peace Treaties were responsible for the rise of bitter discord and intransigent nationalism. The late Mr. Foster Dulles, who, as a young diplomatist, had been present at Versailles in 1919, deplored "the unfortunate consequences" of these treaties, and expressly warned against the folly of again imposing upon Germany the burden of an unworkable peace. In May, 1959, at the Geneva Conference, Mr. Christian Herter, too, mentioned "the awful results of the Treaty of Versailles" and absolutely rejected the Russian peace plan for Germany, saying: "The Soviet proposal harbours the seeds of future discord and conflict". Ever since 1919 few inhabitants of the Danubian Valley have failed to understand that the political and economic arrangements devised in 1919 and 1920 were untenable; but Paris, London and Washington would have none of it.

Policies should be judged by their results; it is usually at least a generation before the true nature of these results manifests itself. It is clear that Masaryk's and Benesh's "liberation", viewed from this distance of time, led to the decline of Central Europe, and that the Treaties signed in 1919 and 1920 created a situation incomparably worse than that which they were supposed to remedy. Such were the thoughts that revolved in my mind when recently a monument was erected to the memory of Lloyd George, who must bear a large part of the responsibility for the cruel and unwise settlements imposed on Central Europe after the First World War.

The political, economic and military union of the Western world has become an immediate and absolute necessity. We should rejoice whenever we see some advance, however slight, towards this union. But we should grieve at the reluctance of France to subordinate its national ambitions to the need for Western union. We should also deplore the hesitancy of Great Britain in joining the political union of the six European countries forming the Common Market. For it is neither the ties that bind Great Britain to the rest of the Commonwealth nor the benefits of Imperial Preference that are the stumbling-block. It seems that Great Britain recoils from joining the common *political* institutions set up by the six countries of the European Common Market.

The benefits of Imperial Preference have been calculated in terms of money for each country of the Commonwealth. They are not very substantial. Nor can it be said that Imperial Preference holds the Commonwealth together. Mr. Anthony Nutting, a former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, in his book entitled *Europe Will Not Wait*, writes: "I would be the first to uphold any legitimate Commonwealth interest; but, leaving aside the political aspect of relations with Europe, I cannot believe that it is the wish of our cousins in this historic family of nations, any more than it is good business for the Sterling Area, to jeopardize over £500 million worth of British exports to Europe in order to hold inviolate and protected a quarter of that sum for the Commonwealth." It is evident that a more prosperous Great Britain, linked with Europe, also means a more prosperous Commonwealth.

As things stand today, there are many dangers to its material welfare if Great Britain stays out of the Common Market. Thus a large potential market will be lost. True, only one-eighth of British trade is with the Common Market as against two-fifths with the Commonwealth countries. But the former trade is expanding much more rapidly than the latter. The Common Market—it is absurd to call it "Little Europe"—offers incalculable possibilities for British products. By comparison, the Free Trade Area is much smaller and presents fewer opportunities for British trade. It is still to be hoped that a bridge will soon be built between the Six and the Seven.

According to Nietzsche, we must await the conversion of mankind to wisdom. When that has been achieved, women as well as men will be economically independent; and, above all, the foolish and futile aspirations of nationalism will be abandoned and money now spent on armaments will be spent on education. In Nietzsche's view, nationalism was the stumbling-block; and so he became an enthusiastic supporter of the movement for a United Europe. He thus anticipated by a century the noble efforts of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, Aristide Briand and Winston Churchill.

Nietzsche or Coudenhove-Kalergi or Briand or Churchill did not explain how a United Europe could be brought into being. With prophetic vision, however, Nietzsche predicted that the overwhelming power and threatening demeanour of Russia might compel Europe to abandon the comedy of petty politics and to unite against so barbarous a country.

The free world today presents a conglomeration of disparities and

antagonisms for the Communists to turn to their own evil advantage. In view of the deadly menace from the Soviet Union and from China, resistance to immediate and full union of Europe is a criminal blunder. Public opinion in Great Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth should therefore be prepared for full union with free Europe, and indeed with all the countries of the West. Posterity will condemn those who failed to rise to the great challenge of our time.

Yet it is my firm belief that neither the Common Market nor the Free Trade Area, nor a combination of both, would today suffice without the adherence of the entire British Commonwealth and of the United States. All these countries should gradually coalesce into one economic and financial union, throughout which men, goods and capital could move with ever-growing freedom. Sooner or later the countries of South America and Africa would adhere to this union. In any case, this is the shape of things to come; for all these countries would thus achieve a prosperity that would put both Socialism and Communism to shame. The aim of free competition is to produce and exchange—thanks to that increase in efficiency which is one of its inevitable consequences—ever more, better and cheaper goods, and thus to reach the highest possible degree of abundance and of good living. All this would be achieved in human freedom and in defiance of the Socialist doctrine of regimentation. Many people still fail to understand that exports are but a means of procuring imported goods on easier terms than like goods could be procured if they were manufactured at home.

Neither Imperial Preference nor concern for the future of the British farmer should prevent the complete economic union of the Six, the Seven, the rest of the Commonwealth and perhaps the United States. Instead of Imperial Preference, which should be abolished in principle, it would suffice to give each member of the Commonwealth an import quota carrying preferential treatment for average quantities of those goods which had been imported by them during, say, the last five years. In other words: though the Six, the Seven, the rest of the Commonwealth and perhaps the United States would combine to establish a customs union, a limited Imperial Preference would still be maintained for given quantities of goods and for given periods of validity. Such an arrangement could be renewed on expiry.

As for British agriculture, there is no need to fear for its future, provided that the farmers produce the right things. Great Britain has a climate well suited for most agricultural pursuits and for all branches of meat-production, such as beef, mutton, veal and pork; milk and milk products; poultry and eggs; some fruits, many kinds of vegetables and all kinds of root-crops. Wheat production in this country should be reduced by half and restricted to those districts where the composition of the soil and the incidence of the rainfall are adequate. These considerations are less important for coarse grains.

Why should the British farmer be protected from international competition any more than the Danish or Dutch farmer, who has a soil and climate like those of Great Britain and who, without any subsidy, is quite

prosperous? Why does the Danish farmer produce dairy products, beef, eggs and pig-meat at two-thirds of British costs? Why should not the British farmer export bacon and butter to Denmark, and tomatoes and lettuces to Holland?

The farmer has, however, not only to sell but also to buy. He cannot be expected to sell his products cheap in the open market and to buy his requirements, both professional and personal, dear in the protected market. In fairness to the farmer, not only agricultural subsidies, but also customs duties and cartels, should therefore be abolished simultaneously by gradual stages. Thus the prices of all goods would be brought into their proper relationship and farmers everywhere would be just as prosperous as manufacturers and traders. The consumers would greatly profit by this policy, since free trade leads to the lowest possible prices and the highest possible qualities of goods. The inescapable pressure of international competition would be most salutary for every farmer, manufacturer and trader. This pressure would initiate the process of eliminating those high-cost and inefficient producers who were unable or unwilling to reduce their costs of production.

National and international price-fixing and other collusive practices are means of making illicit profits at the expense of the consumer. They are a travesty of the economic system of free enterprise which we so ostentatiously profess. They destroy the ideal that the free world offers as an effectual alternative to economic control and regimentation.

The most urgent need of the Western nations is both political and economic unity. The division of Europe into two trading groups flagrantly disregards this need. The fact that the Six and the Seven have not yet been able to reconcile their interests by creating one all-embracing market for Western Europe may gravely weaken Western cohesion. The present division has already made bad blood and provoked needless suspicion and distrust inside the two groups of States. Dissension is an evil, fatal to the spiritual power of the Western nations in their struggle with the formidable coalition of Russia and China.

The political and economic progress of the Soviet Union may conduce not only to a gradual improvement in its social conditions, but also to a sense of personal liberty and security. It will become more and more difficult to stop or reverse this trend in the Soviet Union without provoking widespread revolt. The coming generation—or perhaps even the present one—in Russia may attain a degree of political maturity that will not readily tolerate demagogues of Mr. Khrushchev's type. As Emerson wrote a hundred years ago: "To educate the wise man, the State exists; and with the appearance of the wise man, the State expires." Sooner or later we may therefore expect that the improvement and stabilization of Soviet society will result in better relations between the Soviet Union and the Western world. It may even not be altogether absurd to begin thinking of Russia as a future ally.

This argument should not be construed as an advocacy of appeasement. It would be sheer folly if we were to let ourselves be deluded into the belief that everything will come right without immense efforts and sacrifices on

our part. The price of our survival and of the ultimate liberation of the enslaved countries must be paid day by day in the pure gold of determination, patience, perseverance and—above all—unity. By our example we shall become a source of inspiration and encouragement to those brave patriots who struggle to throw off the shackles of tyranny.

Many of the problems and incidents about which Russia continues to raise noisy protests are being deliberately exaggerated for the purpose of diverting the attention of the world from the fate of the 100,000,000 people in the ten Russian-occupied countries of Europe. What is the incidental violation of the Russian skies by one or two unarmed reconnaissance planes by comparison with the permanent violation of the sovereignty of all these countries?

Had it not been artificially created, there would be no Berlin problem at all. As for the problem of a divided Germany, it can be left to solve itself after the departure of the occupation forces. This departure should be not preceded but followed by negotiations on disarmament, which is not the most urgent task of mankind. For the utmost that can be achieved in the foreseeable future is partial disarmament, which would still leave, for many years to come, both sides on an equal footing of military strength, and would in no way diminish the danger of war.

Though even partial disarmament and a tentative agreement on nuclear weapons should not be disparaged, yet the task of supreme importance and immediate urgency is to ensure that the Russian forces should be withdrawn from all the countries that they occupied during and after the Second World War. Their prolonged and unwelcome presence is not only an insult to the occupied countries, but also a grave threat both to the rest of Europe and to the United States. For, if the Russians fasten their grip on the ten European countries, they may gradually, by a combination of subtle pressure with cunning subversion, succeed in dominating the rest of Europe.

Mr. Walter Lippmann, in summing up a talk that he had with Mr. Khrushchev in Moscow in 1958, wrote (*The Communist World and Ours*): "I feel sure that the Soviet domination of Eastern Germany, of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary is precarious and impermanent. Moreover, I think that the rulers of Russia know this and that, if they could think, which they have not, of any safe way to disengage, they would eventually accept some such settlement." It should be recalled that the Russians did in fact find a safe way of withdrawing from Austria. In 1959 Mr. Khrushchev seemed to have found also the formula of general disengagement when, in his speech before the United Nations, he offered to withdraw the Russian forces garrisoned in Europe behind their national frontiers on condition that the Western Powers should withdraw their forces and give up their bases.

There would appear to be no insuperable difficulty in recalling the British and French forces to their own countries. As for the United States forces, a wise course might be to withdraw them southwards to a distance not greater than that of the Russian frontier from Central Europe. As for the American and British bases overseas, it is evident that they cannot

be unilaterally dismantled for fear of Russian aggression. However, it might be possible to reach an agreement by which all bases, including Russian bases on Russian territory, might be removed to given distances from Central Europe and subjected to international supervision. It should not be forgotten that today the whole of Eastern Europe, and in particular East Germany, has become a vast Russian military base. It may be added that, as a result of notable progress in the technical perfection of inter-continental ballistic missiles, the importance of overseas bases is gradually declining. The United States may soon be able to retaliate against a Soviet attack from their own territory.

Today Russian propaganda misses no opportunity to persuade the captive nations that the balance of power has so decisively shifted in their favour that the complete triumph of Communism in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America will be only a matter of time. The liberation of Eastern and Central Europe from the tyranny of Communism would not only gain valuable allies for the Western Powers, but also strike a fatal blow at the very roots of Communist intrigue throughout the world. On the other hand, for the Western Powers not even to try to liberate the captive nations would be at once a shameful betrayal and a gross blunder.

It is profoundly disquieting to see how mutely the Western Powers acquiesce in the tragedy of Eastern and Central Europe. It is deplorable that they have not even taken the trouble to reply to the Russian initiative of general withdrawal. Their apathy, and the fact that they have been tricked into long-drawn and sterile discussions on Berlin, disarmament and espionage, afford a flagrant proof that they either fail to understand the Russian stratagems or lack any sense of priority.

In these circumstances, it occurs to me to suggest a compact plan that would be so attractive to all governments that they might feel disposed to adopt it. With this thought in mind, I have formulated the following brief but comprehensive plan, and should like to commend it, in all humility, to governments and public opinion in the West and in the East:

1. To transform the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization into a World Parliament, which would remain in permanent session, and whose decisions all Member States would pledge themselves to fulfil. It would take its decisions by a vote of, say, a three-quarter majority. A veto would not be valid unless it was supported by at least 25 votes. A decision against which it would be impossible to muster even 25 opponents would be held to be adopted. The Security Council would be abolished. If it is to discharge its responsibilities, the United Nations Organization must become a body capable of resolving disputes and of preventing any Power from obstructing its procedure and nullifying its decisions.*

2. To establish an International Police Force (IPF)†.

* "The control of disarmament must provide effective international—or, if we like, supranational—authority invested with real power. Members may say that this is elevating the United Nations into something like world government; be it so, it is none the worse for that. In the long run it is the only way out for mankind." (Mr. Harold Macmillan, when Minister of Defence, House of Commons, March, 1955.)

† I think that Mr. Hammerskjöld was mistaken when he objected to the idea of an international police force as a standing army, and recommended that it should be recruited only at need and composed according to its immediate task. This policy seems to be responsible for the chaos in the Congo. The IPF should be a standing army of such quality and efficiency that the most reckless adventurers would not dare to oppose it.

3. To decide upon the withdrawal of occupation forces and the transference of bases to distances to be determined by negotiation. The withdrawn troops should be succeeded, and the relinquished bases manned, by contingents of the IPF.

4. To restore to the 100,000,000 souls thus liberated the right of self-determination under the control of the IPF.

5. To decide upon the simultaneous re-unification of both China and Germany.

6. To abolish, by rapid stages, customs barriers throughout the whole world, and thereby endow all people with the right to buy and to sell whatever and wherever they wish.

7. To prohibit international trusts and cartels, and collusive practices in general, which seek to evade competition.

8. To improve the system of modern capitalism and its relations with labour by introducing—whenever possible—a large degree of profit-sharing into agriculture, industry and the professions.

9. To make, under the authority of the World Bank, all currencies (including possibly those of Russia and China) convertible and transferable and to keep them so.

10. To concert the efforts of the principal industrial countries, not for the manufacture of thermo-nuclear weapons, but for the swift mass-production of inexpensive atomic reactors for peaceful purposes.

11. To use these reactors for generating cheap power with which to extract from the seas and the air unlimited quantities of chemicals that could be turned into fertilizers to enrich the soil and to increase the starvation-low crop-yields in the under-developed countries.

12. To use the same cheap power for changing salt water into fresh water with which to irrigate deserts in Africa, Asia and Australia. Put into effect, this project might well lead to a more even distribution of the human race round the globe.

13. To bring to perfection the scientifically devised system of extracting edible protein direct from grass and leaves, thereby superseding the slow and costly process by which cattle perform this function. Starvation and malnutrition would thus be gradually eradicated.

14. To crown all these measures with the final achievement of total and universal disarmament on land, at sea and in the air.

15. To control disarmament by means of the IPF, reinforced for this purpose by scientific observers, and to subject the progress of specific measures of disarmament to international inspection.

16. To ensure unrestricted travel and communication between all countries by land, by sea and by air.

17. To allot a given percentage of the fabulous amounts now spent in all countries on armaments to raising the standards of health, education, agriculture and industry in the under-developed countries.

18. To invite, after agreement reached with them, re-united China and re-united Germany, as well as Switzerland and Tibet, to become members of the World Parliament.

19. To invite, as a token of final reconciliation, Mr. Chou En-lai and Dr. Adenauer to participate in a well-prepared summit conference.

20. To grant long-term loans at low rates of interest to Russia and China.

The plan here suggested aims at promoting a general reconciliation at a time when enmities seem more irreconcilable than ever before. It aims at nothing less than resolving the conflict between East and West. The adoption of these proposals would mean, not only that the Iron Curtain

would be raised, but also that the world would be thrown open to free commercial intercourse. Universal competition would enable goods of the highest qualities to be produced at the lowest costs and to be sold at the lowest prices, thus increasing purchasing-power or, in other words, raising the general standard of living. Unsaleable stocks would then no longer encumber the world market, nor would the State continue the folly of wasting the taxpayers' money on payments to farmers for crops that they do not grow.

Socialism of the Russian and Chinese variety involves the expansion of heavy industry at the expense of the general standard of living; recourse to tyrannical measures for the purpose of silencing protest and suppressing opposition; and induction of an illusory frame of mind disposed to accept persecution and hardship as the only methods by which a pretended enemy of monstrous iniquity can be confronted and vanquished.

Disarmament would everywhere result in a substantial decrease in taxation and increase in national savings. These savings would help all countries to finance their industrialization, and would enable Russia and China to fulfil their plans of industrial expansion without condemning the present generations of Russians and Chinese to stint themselves in expectation of a more abundant future. This new affluence, strengthened by loans from the West, would tend to make the social and economic systems of Russia and China less austere, and would thereby render co-existence between East and West progressively easier and smoother.

As time passes and education spreads throughout the Soviet Union, the Russian people may begin to think for themselves and to imbibe liberal ideas. Since competition was invented not by man but by nature, it cannot be perpetually suppressed. It is therefore by no means impossible that, having withdrawn behind their own frontiers, the Russians may adopt the competitive system as the foundation of their economy, which could then be integrated with that of the rest of the world. The open market would then embrace the whole world, and an era of peace, freedom and prosperity would ensue.

A society like that of Soviet Russia, scientific in outlook and dynamic in economy, will be irresistibly driven to transform its political institutions into conformity with purer notions of justice, tolerance and veracity. It will thus achieve liberty for itself and for those nations which it had deprived of this indispensable foundation of human dignity.

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW—

SEAN LEMASS, PREMIER OF EIRE

GEORGE BILAINKIN

FUSS and conventional trumpeting are abjured by the three million citizens of free Eire. But they have awakened to find themselves astride the louder world. In the Congo, an Irish general seeks to calm the sanguinary rivals and their supporters. An Irish diplomatist of near-Dulanty stature keeps command of the stentorian rhinoceros that is the United Nations Assembly in Spengler-ia. Sober, sane business executives rub their eyes in bustling, resurgent, vigorous Dublin at the liberalism that has magnetically drawn dozens of Dutch and German, American and English, Swedish and French and Japanese firms. These shrewd industrialists have created, on beautiful, wild lands, new factories, mostly near the irresistible duty-free emporium of gracious Shannon. First airport in Europe for the army of fliers of the Atlantic to sample, it is packed tastefully with the world's goods for young and middle-aged, the charming and those who aspire. Dublin itself is smiling. The modern hotels, with their polite staffs, and efficiently run restaurants, are crowded with foreign guests. The most revealing criterion, the state of the Corps Diplomatique, proves Eire's new status. Has the French Quai d'Orsay not sent as Ambassador, M. Paris, with the most beautiful and intelligent châteline that it could offer to a key capital?

Recurring reports in London and Dublin that the atmosphere between the capitals and governments is undergoing remarkable change, and that Eire would not be unsympathetic to negotiations for returning to the Commonwealth, made me seek out Mr. Sean Lemass. Taoiseach, pronounced rather like tee-shoch, since June 23, 1959, he is a Dubliner. He looks 50 rather than 61, despite participation in 1916 in the Easter Week Rising when he was captured in the GPO. Then hostilities broke out afresh; he rejoined the IRA. Sad Ireland made him Minister of Industry and Commerce in 1932. With two brief periods out of office he had remained in that post till 18 months ago; he had also been Deputy Premier for over eight years, in three stages. Today the soft, swift, precise voice reveals no passions, no harsh emotions, nor the slightest criticism of his opposite numbers in Downing Street, or even in Stormont House, Belfast.

I was fascinated as I sat in his study watching the business man's austere shoes, and the austerer grey woollen socks, at the changes wrought by the ashes of time. Mr. Lemass was not ridiculing my questions about the talks on Eire's return to the British family, so few years after leaving, by her own choice, in 1948. He was not asking whether I was serious, was not rising from his comfortable but "non-protocolaire" chair to end the interview suddenly, and with a sense of outraged anger. Moreover, he is not in the sloughs of despond, for Eire's soaring exports for 1960 were announced during my stay. They are startling . . . at £150,000,000, or an average of £50 for man, woman and child. Rural Western Eire is making

pianos for dispatch by air from Shannon all over the world; Killarney is building cranes; Japan here produces transistor radios of splendour in miniature; ball-bearings, men's suits, women's dresses are new industries. Eire pays liberally for the training of Irish labour, for the construction of factories, for much of imported equipment, and does not ask for years for income tax on profits derived from export business, does not interfere with production methods, offers "cash down" promptly . . .

Mr. Lemass concurred in the statement that the world press had been writing of the more cordial atmosphere between the two countries.

G.B.: How does the proposal for the return of Eire to the Commonwealth open, Prime Minister?

Premier: This is not a live issue in Irish politics. No party advocates it. If the idea is ever to be considered, it will have to come from Britain; the proposal will never come from here. Even if made by Britain it would be considered only in the context of an arrangement which would restore Irish unity. Lord Pakenham (now Lord Longford) made a reference to the question lately, but he is out of touch with Irish political realities, and his suggestion aroused only momentary interest and little comment.

G.B.: Suppose negotiations really began . . . let us take it thence, if we may.

Premier: I spoke about this when addressing the Oxford Union some time ago. We accept the fact that in any negotiations leading on to Irish reunification, the question of Ireland's future relations with the Commonwealth would be on the agenda. I have noted some British newspaper comments pointing out that the practical effect of Irish reassociation with the Commonwealth, without Irish unity as part of the arrangement, would be nil. I suppose that in politics the things that have practical effect are the only things that command urgent attention . . . You must know, from your acquaintance with the Irish, that the suggestion must come from Britain if at all. It will never come from this country. It must involve proposals bearing on the question of unity. Lord Longford's idea that, if we applied, it would lead eventually to Irish unity, is quite unrealistic.

G.B.: What would you wish the British Government to say in opening talks?

Premier: Take Partition. I should like the British authorities to say, "There is no British interest in keeping Ireland partitioned. If the Irish can agree among themselves, to bring it to an end, we will welcome the agreement." You know that has never been said. That lies at the root of our problem. It is the belief North of the Border that the British Government wants them to maintain their present status. It is the belief South of the Border that the British Government encourages them . . . A declaration, such as this, if made clearly and precisely, would be enormously helpful in improving understanding of the British position and in bettering relations between the two parts of Ireland.

G.B.: Have you met the Prime Minister of Ulster recently?

Premier: Our only meeting was at the Ottawa Conference in 1932, and was very formal. He was then Minister for Agriculture.

G.B.: Have you met the Acting Premier of Ulster, Mr. O'Neill?

Premier: No.

G.B.: Have you discussed these matters with the British Ministers?

Premier: I have discussed this question, without any conclusions, on a number of occasions with members of the British Government who have a part in policy-making in this field.

G.B.: Have you spoken to Mr. Macmillan and/or Mr. Butler recently?

Premier: The last occasion with Mr. Macmillan was at the end of 1959, when I was in London about trade negotiations. I met Mr. Butler sometime later.

G.B.: What was your conclusion after meeting Mr. Macmillan?

Premier: I felt I had succeeded in all cases in helping them to understand the position and our attitude a little more clearly.

G.B.: Do you feel the statement you have outlined might be issued by him?

Premier: Well, Neville Chamberlain in 1939 came very nearly to saying this. After we had concluded a fairly comprehensive agreement which dealt with financial relations, returned defended ports to our sovereignty, and other matters, he laid it before the House of Commons in London, and employed words that could be interpreted in this way. The war was beginning to threaten and the world did not give the words their significance. I was then Minister for Industry and Commerce.

G.B.: What were your general impressions in 1959—with the new people?

Premier: We had the feeling that British Ministers are now not as familiar with the situation as we would like them to be. They are, of course, pre-occupied with great events in all parts of the world. Mr. Macmillan has made this point from time to time. Mr. Butler? . . . One felt the need here for a clearer understanding of the history and evolution of Partition.

G.B.: Of all the debating societies in the British Isles I have addressed as guest, perhaps the Oxford Union gives me the greatest hope in the country's tomorrow, here and abroad. What, Prime Minister, was your reaction in addressing these young men? I felt they were as good as or better than the post-graduates of University One, Geneva . . .

Premier: I was impressed with the manner in which I was heard. I felt, in opening, there was the desire to understand.

G.B.: What is the evidence of any *détente* in Ulster?

Premier: There have been many indications in the Six Counties that those who have been insensible to the views in this part of Ireland are beginning to take an interest in the possibility of co-operation, although I cannot say progress has been made yet.

G.B.: From the encouraging figures I have studied, Ireland has been making real headway of late. What have you achieved since becoming Prime Minister?

Premier: I began first as Minister of Industry by telling this generation that it would have to build the State on solid economic foundations. I have always worked to sustain economic progress. It represents the fruition of plans made beforehand. Our rate of progress is beginning to run ahead of our hopes. Subject to world conditions remaining favourable, our plans are going to develop rapidly. I told the Dáil recently we need to double

our rate of progress to achieve the standards of Western countries nearest to Ireland.

G.B.: What is your greatest headache, Prime Minister?

Premier: It is the continued high incidence of emigration. A figure of 64,000 has been given as the number of new Social Insurance Cards issued in Britain to Irish workers in the past year. I do not think it is an accurate figure for our nett emigration, for many go over for beet harvests, and other temporary tasks, and then return home again. Others go over in the summer only. Many tradesmen go from one building job to another, as conditions require. Many come back. The total is probably nearer 35,000, which is, however, far too heavy. America has increased her quota, although our people do not now fill one-tenth of it. The extraordinary aspect is the trend for people to leave jobs to go abroad; this is the most disturbing feature.

G.B.: Is the most certain way of easing emigration, to make industrial conditions not only more attractive, more widespread, but better known?

Premier: I think we shall have a great increase in the number of factories during 1961, in addition to those built, building, projected and approved in 1959 and 1960. The total this year is about 70. That is the number of cases in which grants have been already approved. All has been arranged so far as the State is concerned. This year should see a considerable rise in our employment. We are planning developments also in sea fisheries, in afforestation and in hotel construction and improvement. We now offer £20 an acre to private persons to encourage tree-planting. . . .

G.B.: Do you go to church and, if so, how often?

Premier: I go every Sunday to Church.

G.B.: Is there a thought, as I leave, that passes your mind, outside the questions I have put, Prime Minister?

Premier: Here are two islands off the coast of Europe. It is obvious that it is absolutely desirable that there should be as close and friendly relations between the peoples of both. Think of the world's reaction if it became known that all causes of friction between England and ourselves, which have persisted for 700 years, were cleared away, all finished. Think of the effects this might have on the influence of England in many difficult areas of the world . . .

And now the Premier was off for a three-hour journey by car to deliver an address; he would be driven home that night or early morning. But the staff would be ready for consultation and instructions as usual at 9 a.m. tomorrow.

WORLD VISTAS—

RUSSIAN CONTACTS WITH THE WEST—II

G. P. GOOCH

WITH the accession of Nicholas II in 1894 warmer airs seemed about to blow from Eastern Europe. The new Czar was a nephew of Queen Alexandra, and the new Czarina, Princess Alix of Hesse, was a granddaughter of Queen Victoria. An attempted assassination of the sovereigns on their wedding day indicated that volcanic fires were seething below the surface. A flicker of light shot out of the dark sky in 1897 when the Czar invited the Powers to a Conference at The Hague to halt the armaments race. The bright hopes quickly faded, and in the following year an ugly crisis loomed up in the Far East, whither Russia's eyes had turned when her advance in the Middle East was blocked by German plans for a Baghdad railway. By this time Anglo-Russian relations were at their worst since the Crimean war, and nowhere was the outcry against the South African conflict more unrestrained.

A *détente* was secured in 1907 when the two Powers, estranged since the Crimean war, signed a treaty delimiting their spheres of influence in the Middle East. Thus was terminated the anomaly in which France's ally and her new British friends were scowling at each other. Though there was no thought in Grey's mind of a political or military alliance, the Triple Entente was widely regarded as in practice almost as much an unit as the Triple Alliance. Never had the ties between Russia and the Western Powers been so close as during the seven years between the Anglo-Russian rapprochement and the war of 1914.

Though the three Chancelleries now presented a defensive front against German ambitions on the High Seas and in the Middle East, there was not the slightest sign of a union of hearts. News from Russia was disappointing. The summoning of the Duma was merely a momentary ray of light, for its dismissal at the first show of independence and the return to irresponsible autocracy destroyed the last hopes of a new orientation. Still more alarming was the infatuation of the Czarina, unhinged by family disappointments and anxieties, for Rasputin, whom the feeble Czar felt unable to exclude from the palace.

The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 brought Europe within sight of a wider conflict. When the murder of the heir to the throne of the Hapsburgs at Serajevo was followed by an unacceptable Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, Russia plunged into the fray, and in a matter of hours Europe was ablaze. Witte, the strong man of the reign and the father of Russian industry, had warned the Czar that the country was in no condition to wage a major war, adding that such an enterprise would involve not merely defeat but the fall of the dynasty. The veteran statesman died two years too soon to witness the fulfilment of his forecast. The inefficiency of the régime in war as in peace was demonstrated when it fell with a crash in 1917.

After the *débâcle* a flood of light was thrown on the unhappy reign of Nicholas II by the publication of official and private correspondence, despatches, and an imposing array of apologia by leading statesmen and

soldiers who agree in little but their practice of placing blame on other shoulders. The most poignant revelations are contained in the diaries of the Czar and the letters of the Czarina. The former present an amiable mediocrity, destitute of the qualities of mind and will required in a ruler of men, an automaton rather than an autocrat, discharging routine duties in a mechanical way, accepting defeats and disasters as the will of God. The pathetic letters of the Empress, covering the years from the outbreak of war till the close of 1916, enable us to visualize the unhappy invalid and her unceasing interference in affairs of state in the supposed interests of autocracy. The whole scene is dominated by the sinister spectre of Rasputin. The Romanovs, like the Bourbons, dug their own graves.

In comparison with England, land of the *juste milieu*, Russia may be labelled a land of extremes, where the pendulum swings violently. In his diatribe against the Jacobins, Taine describes the most decisive event in French history as not merely a revolution but a dissolution; but the Bolshevik *coup* constituted a far more drastic break in the continuity of the national life. The contrast between the *ancien régime* and modern France is almost insignificant compared with that between the Russia of Nicholas II and the Russia of Lenin. All bridges had been swept away by the Marxian flood. Diplomatic relations with the West were suspended for the only time, except during the Crimean war, and a shudder ran through the western world when we learned of the slaughter of the whole Imperial family. Could King George V be asked to receive the representative of a blood-stained dictator? For the Lloyd George coalition it was unthinkable, but the MacDonald Government of 1923-24 felt that the boycott should not last for ever. Recognition does not involve approval, and the Czarist régime had had enough on its conscience to justify ostracism if a certain standard of conduct was regarded as a condition. The decision was accepted without enthusiasm but with little opposition, and when the Conservatives returned to power a few months later they made no attempt to put the clock back.

England, declared Palmerston, had no eternal enemies and no eternal friendships, only eternal interests. The greatest was security. We had sought it for the last four centuries through a powerful navy and the Balance of Power. Necessity makes strange bedfellows, and the rapid growth of Nazi power threatened the independence of Communist Russia no less than of the western democracies. That Stalin cared no more than Hitler for the principle of national liberty was shown when the two dictators fell upon Poland, but the brigands, as might have been anticipated, quickly quarrelled and a new alignment emerged. Despite our detestation of Communist theory and practice and of Russia's record in the rape of Poland, we needed each other's assistance if we were to survive as sovereign states. It proved difficult enough with our united efforts to defeat the Third Reich, and without the partnership of Communist and Capitalist communities it would have been impossible.

The victory which removed the threat from Berlin revived the menace from Moscow, and from 1945 East-West relations have scarcely known a day without friction. Agreement on the future of Germany was out of

question, and with the prolonged blockade of the western approaches to Berlin the cold war reached its most critical phase. A friend in the State Department at Washington told me that the officials were expecting news of the shooting down of American transport planes at any moment.

Tension between East and West seemed likely to diminish when Khrushchev succeeded Stalin, denounced his politics and recommended co-existence, by which he meant that the struggle between the rival ideologies must be waged without bloodshed. War, he believed, was totally unnecessary, since the triumph of Communism throughout the world was simply a matter of time. During his recent antics in New York it was difficult at times to regard him as a pillar of peace, but I do not doubt that he has no more desire for a life and death struggle than ourselves. Why should he risk the whole future of a system in which he so passionately believes on a single throw of the dice? Mr. Macmillan has recently admitted that the international situation has substantially worsened since the sabotaging of the Paris Summit. It is mainly owing to his patient efforts since his visit to Moscow to keep the bridges open that our relations are not even worse. That both camps equally need the astronomical sums now devoted to arms for civil purposes is no less obvious than that deep suspicions on both sides render any substantial reduction difficult if not impossible.

Science has annihilated physical distance but has done little to narrow the ideological gulf between Russia and the Western world. England and Russia knew little about each other's life and literature till the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Since Catherine the Great the Russian intelligentsia have enjoyed French authors, but of English writers only Dickens has been taken to the heart of the nation. But Russian readers are assured that the land of capitalist exploitation pictured in his novels is the England of today. Our debt to Russian culture is immensely greater. I am old enough to remember the eighties when translations from Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev and Chekhov began to appear. Tolstoy, we felt at once, was a giant, the first Russian author to be read all over the world. *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina* and *Resurrection* guided us through the dark labyrinths of the Russian soul. In his widely read *Le Roman Russe* the Vicomte de Vogué argued that the Russian novelists had introduced a note of what he called ethical realism which he missed in French fiction from Stendhal and Balzac to Flaubert and Zola. Some young readers like myself, thrilled by the titanic genius of Tolstoy, continued to read him when he turned his back on the world and became an ascetic interpreter of Christian ethics. Turgenev's long residence in the West enabled Henry James and other men of letters for the first time to make acquaintance with a Russian writer of the first magnitude. It was not till a few years later that Dostoevsky became a familiar name in the West. We realised that the author of the *Brothers Karamazov*, *The Idiot* and *The Possessed* was one of the supreme masters of the art of fiction. Later still we welcomed Chekhov's short stories and the grim realism of Gorki's *Dosthouse* thrilled the playhouses in western capitals. After a long interval of cultural no less than of political estrange-

ment Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago* aroused the attention of the West by his panorama of Russian life, which reminded some readers of the spacious canvas of *War and Peace*. At the very moment, however, when the western world was echoing to the praise of the book, the Kremlin intervened to veto his acceptance of the well-earned Nobel Prize for literature, thus revealing the inner weakness of dictatorship in its morbid fear of criticism in the community which it presents to the outside world as a happy family.

Of scarcely less significance than the Russian novel as a medium of communication between the Russian soul and the western world is Russian music, above all that of Tschaikovsky, whose haunting melodies found their way straight into our hearts. The life of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* has been indefinitely prolonged by his music, and no Promenade season is imaginable without his symphonies and suites. Glinka, Borodin, Moussorgsky, Rachmaninov, Prokoviev, Rimsky-Korsakov, Glazounov, Shostakovich and Stravinsky have taught western music-lovers to keep their ears open for the latest harmonies wafted across the Iron Curtain. Nor must the delicate charms of the Russian ballet be omitted in the briefest survey of Russia's contribution to the artistic delights of the western world. In the field of science the names of Mendeleev and Pavlov became familiar in the West at the close of the century, and today Russian scientists march in the front rank in the invasion of outer space.

Though Englishmen abhor monolithic régimes, either of Right or Left, with their dragooning of the mind, political friction does not seriously impair goodwill towards the Russian people. We sympathise with their sufferings and frustrations through the ages, rejoice at any sign of progress towards a better life, and hope that the most precious gift which the West has to offer—the system of ordered liberty—may gradually become the birthright of a great and gifted nation. We can render some little aid to such a process by abstaining from a war of words, by inviting each other's artists and scientists, scholars and churchmen, by facilitating tourism and trade, and by striving to live down the bitter memories of the past. Our flourishing School of Slavonic Studies in London is a good start.

THE FRANCO-ALGERIAN NEGOTIATIONS

W. L. MIDDLETON

GENERAL DE GAULLE'S invitation to M. Bourguiba, the Tunisian President, was the clearest move towards an Algerian settlement which he has yet made in his long and sometimes tortuous policy of approach since his return to power in 1958. The discussions to arrange the meeting at Rambouillet were fortunately managed from the Tunisian side by a well-qualified intermediary, M. Masmoudi, who had been Ambassador in Paris in the later days of the Fourth Republic and had at the same time kept up confident personal relations with General de Gaulle.

Some question was raised at first as to the character of M. Bourguiba's intervention. M. Masmoudi's comments on the preliminaries happily made it clear that it was not intended as a substitute for negotiation between the French Government and the FLN. Ever since the referendum of January 8 a great section of French and world opinion had set its hope on direct negotiation with the FLN in view, not only of a cease-fire, but of a general settlement of the Algerian problem. M. Masmoudi made the significant remark that the aim was to prevent the action of certain elements in France, Algeria and the outside world, which seemed to have an interest in the continuance of the war and in thwarting any effort of France and Algeria to come to an understanding between themselves.

The communiqué issued after the Rambouillet conversations did not mention direct negotiation specifically, but it expressed the hope of an solution of the problem which would henceforth be "positive and rapid". A point of great interest is that the Algerian question was considered "in the light of recent developments and in the perspective of the future of North Africa". This cryptic expression suggests the possibility that negotiations may extend over many subjects outside the strictly Algerian problem, but the mass of French opinion regards the early conclusion of peace in Algeria as the essential need. The death of Mohammed V, occurring at the very beginning of these negotiations, brings an element of uncertainty in North African conditions which may affect their course. Apart from the question of the internal equilibrium of Morocco, which the late King had not had time to settle firmly, his disappearance leaves M. Bourguiba unquestionably the principal figure in the North African States taken together. The Tunisian President has recently been rather isolated by a series of political events, and his share in the promotion of the Franco-Algerian negotiations will help him to take the opportunity now presented to him to resume a first-rank rôle in North African and international politics.

It is almost forgotten that a specific object of the referendum of January 8 was to obtain the approval of the electorate of a Bill to set up provisional institutions of administration in Algeria. The electorate, in fact, performed a legislative act without the intermediary of Parliament. The conception of these institutions seems to belong to the phase of General de Gaulle's

policy in which the Algerian population was regarded as distinct from the rebellion, a sort of "third force" which would come into effective action after war had ceased, would apply autodetermination and decide on the permanent status and institutions of the future "Algerian Algeria". On this basis the FLN, leaders of the rebellion, were qualified to negotiate a cease-fire, but had no representative title to negotiate a political solution. But the referendum of January 8, besides giving a massive approval of the Bill, was also commonly interpreted as expressing a prevalent desire for an early peace in Algeria reached by direct negotiation with the rebel leaders. Legally, the President of the Republic already had powers to undertake direct negotiation, but the referendum facilitated action in this sense by exposing the weakness of the minority still devoted to the maintenance of a "French Algeria".

On the supposition that direct negotiation actually results from the de Gaulle-Bourguiba talks, the problems to be solved are still heavy and complex. The positions adopted by the French Government on one side and the FLN leaders on the other during the slow evolution of the discussion of the last two years are sufficiently divergent. On the great question of the protection and the political status of the European minority in an "Algerian Algeria", the two parties are attracted by different principles. The French tend to treat the European minority as a distinct entity, enjoying specific rights as such and guaranteed in much the same way as ethnic minorities were guaranteed in several European countries after the First World War. So far as public declarations of the FLN leaders have expressed their views, they tend to offer to individuals of the European minority full and equal citizenship on the same terms as Mussulmans. There are indications that a considerable proportion of the Europeans will not be satisfied with this and will prefer to settle in France. One of the tasks of the French Government will be to assure decent conditions of life to these refugees—a problem which has already presented itself in the case of French residents returning from Morocco and has not been solved to the satisfaction of everybody concerned. For this category of European residents in Algeria there is still the immediate question of their protection during the period of transition to the new order. It is obvious that from the French point of view the only sure protection is that of the French military force. That raises the involved question of the conditions and the extent of the maintenance of the French army. In theory it is possible to conceive of a mixed civil administration and even a joint military control in certain regions during transition, but practical difficulties are evident.

It is necessary to realize the great development of the sense of nationalism which has taken place during the six years of war. The leaders of the FLN often go so far as to say that the Algerian nation has been created in the war years. As for their own representative capacity, they have been impressed by the Mussulman demonstrations during the pre-referendum tour of General de Gaulle in Algeria last December, when civilian Mussulman populations came out into the streets carrying, for the first time, the FLN colours. The attitude of the FLN has hardened in various ways under the impulse of the wave of nationalism. It has taken a definite

stand against any scheme of solution which emanates from the French side only; it demands solution by negotiation. It is also sensitive to territorial unity and hostile to partition or "regrouping". In a recent speech at Ghardia, in the Sahara, M. Debré, the French Prime Minister, said that France was determined to remain there, though ready to associate neighbouring States in the great work which is beginning and of which she takes the responsibility. He described the Sahara as not to be confounded with any of the countries on its borders. The Algerian nationalists, in their present humour, would have difficulty in subscribing to these declarations.

In various recent statements FLN leaders have seemed to tolerate the idea of a period of transition, which would involve practical concessions not damaging to their main principles. After Rambouillet, M. Bourguiba, who has made compromises serve his principles in Tunisia, said he hoped to persuade the FLN to agree to accept development by stages. It was announced from Rabat (Morocco) that the FLN leaders had agreed to this truce, so that no formal obstacle remained to the opening of direct pourparlers between themselves and France.

There have been discussions intermittently in the French Press for several months on the future of the constitutional régime. There is no visible danger immediately threatening the Constitution so long as it is protected by the presence of General de Gaulle himself, but the very fact that it depends so greatly on General de Gaulle's prestige has raised a question as to what would happen if his presence was withdrawn. One school of constitutional theorists has been carrying on a campaign in favour of the thorough adoption of the United States presidential system, which has been presented as a development which would be applicable without great difficulty to the Constitution of the Fifth Republic. The veteran Paul Reynaud, whose opinion counts in such a matter, has recently declared that under the present Constitution the instability of Government, which has been the foremost vice of the French Republic, would return if General de Gaulle were to disappear. Constitutional amendment is therefore necessary, and M. Reynaud would prefer the return to Parliamentaryism on the British model to the adoption of the American presidential system. He regards the British system as ensuring stability while maintaining the dignity and independence of Parliament. M. Reynaud has at various times urged that the best practical remedy for governmental instability in a French Parliament on the British model would be a provision for the automatic dissolution of the National Assembly on the defeat of the Government on a question of confidence.

Pressagny-L'Orgueilleux, Par Vernon, Eure.

PSYCHOLOGY—

"SHAPES OF DELIGHT, OF MYSTERY AND FEAR"

BETTY EDWARDS

MOST adults are by now uneasily aware that the advice of Goethe's Faust to Wagner has for too long been taken too literally: "Cook up what entertainment you will to astonish the children (poor monkeys), if that tickles your palate." But there have been as yet few examinations, in depth and comprehensiveness, of the sensational elements in current literature for children or of the productions of the cheap horror press to which young people may have easy access. An important study has this month appeared whose particular virtue is that it explores, in psychological terms, the true nature of some of the immediate literary antecedents of these violent motifs, as well as tracing in mythology and folk-tale their superhumanly evil ancient prototypes.

In her book, *I Could a Tale Unfold*, Miss Pickard has undertaken an anabasis into dark, practically impenetrable country in order to reveal the mainsprings of fear and their deeply unconscious origin. She has dared to bring to light and interpret some of those beings,

"Worse

Than fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived,

Gorgons and Hydras and Chimaeras dire,"

who emerge into literature from the nether regions of the mind; to indicate the very issues on which they may be fought, the quarters from which their attacks are most likely to come, and, above all, how bewildered parents and mentors of the very young may prepare the infinitely valuable spirits of their charges to meet their unexpected onslaughts.

But let no parent or teacher be misled into imagining that this book furnishes yet another of those disturbing, complex and apparently conflicting doctrines they have so often found when they have turned to psychology for guidance. The genesis of Miss Pickard's Freudian ideas is clear. But her particular contribution is that she has notably succeeded in finding the common denominator between the psychological development of the child through his play, dreams and phantasy and the experiences of the artist as creator. From a mass of introspective evidence on the nature of artistic creation and appreciation, the experiences of Keats and Hans Andersen are selected as touchstones. The one is a clear image of health before the advent of decadent post-Romantic tales of corruption and the other a haunted, phantasy-ridden genius who could never attain to the "negative capability" which, in Keats, held the balance between his double knowledge of the self and of the world's evil.

Freud used the oedipal discovery as a starting point for a systematic exploration and mapping of the complex web of infantile impulses and feelings out of which adult human personality develops. These ideas have aroused enormous controversy and have been refuted many times to the

I Could a Tale Unfold: Violence, Horror and Sensationalism in Stories for Children.

P. M. Pickard. Tavistock Press. 25s. American edition: Humanities Press, Inc.

satisfaction of those who could not tolerate them but with singularly little other effect. Yet the virulence of the attacks is clearly not related to the truth or error of his ideas as such but to the uncovering of things which, even now, many want desperately to keep concealed. Meanwhile, from Plato's *Republic* onwards, there is abundant evidence in literature of those desires which Socrates insisted "exist in every one of us, terrible in their untamed lawlessness, which reveal themselves in dreams . . . In phantasy, the wild beast in us will not shrink . . . from forbidden food or any deed of blood." It is these unconscious infantile desires which Miss Pickard identifies as becoming explicit in degenerate post-Romantic tales of mystery and imagination, when undue commitment to the self released "unthinkable thoughts". She takes the reader on an urgent and exciting quest through the violent phantasies that again emerge in present-day horror comics and the like. At the same time, she demonstrates beyond reasonable doubt that Freud's work, far from reducing man to an automaton controlled by unconscious desires, enables us to place at the centre of educational theory the concepts of an integrated personality and an autonomous self. Indirectly, through stories of high artistic worth, we are in a position gradually and consciously to help children grow towards autonomy and to do this in such a way that they can participate more and more fully in their own education.

The problems of childhood are considered on many levels; but "art", says Miss Pickard, "has given adults a second chance to look at repressed problems, a second chance to use conscious intelligence coupled with mature experience in dealing with these problems." The intrinsic significance of children's play and its central importance in their development towards balanced adulthood is here, if ever, plainly revealed, even to those who have long mistrusted analytical thought on the subject. It should reassure the many people who, living and working with children and adolescents, feel deeply preoccupied with problems of protection and suffer agonies of anxiety when some especially lurid example of brutality in film or story is brought to their notice. At such a moment of conflict they are frequently impelled to behave censoriously, without the means of understanding how to deal with the problem in general, and therefore safe, terms. Miss Pickard affords valuable guidance on the general approach to suitable stories. She makes distinction between the overt good and bad deeds of heroes and villains and the nameless horror arising from an evil that only too readily confirms the existence of terrifying phenomena whose materialisation all children, and all human beings, ultimately dread. It plunges them into a new dimension because, told without art or "aesthetic distance", it is as crude as a physical blow and leaves the quivering mind as defenceless.

"When arch-villains emerge in literature, powerful inner realities have taken command of outward behaviour. Moved by a furious lust to domineer, they rove the world in search of weaker beings unable to withstand their craving, upon whom they can slake their thirst for command. The myths and literature of the world are full of tales about such terrifying characters and their terrified victims. Here one sees unrestrained inner

horrific phantasy become overt behaviour, and it is well worth our while to take a closer look at some of them."

It is in this relation that a distinguished and profoundly enlightening account is given of the emergence of children's comic papers in this country, and of comics in the United States, intended for semi-literate adults. These latter, "pictures in self-evident sequence with a minimum of type", and "very sensational to stimulate the intellectual effort required", soon arrived at the point where once more "the arch-villains" began to emerge. "Very soon, historical facts became infiltrated with incidents of mythological quality, basic to the early development of the human mind. Supernatural and sensational elements crept in, such as those known to us not only through penny dreadfuls and mystery classics but also through our own myth cycles. There were spectral riders, apparitions, vampires, pointless murders, people dying more than once, sinister relationships between the sexes, in fact all the basic plots touched upon in Chapter 2. The simplicity of the pictorial medium, together with the poor quality of the cheap production, precluded any integration of horror with beauty, . . . What nobody noticed was that a form of tale that could be interpreted by average foreign-speaking adults could also be understood by the chronically story-starved children."

How the "story-starved children" of wartime Britain and the post-war decade came to be fed on such mental pabulum is the subject of a survey, undertaken by Miss Pickard, along with other workers enlisted by her, and fully reported here. The highly-skilled task of eliciting children's true like and dislikes was carried out in many parts of the country. The first-hand material thus collated sheds further light on the problem of the ugly in art, its place in engendering emotion, and the fusing of discordant elements in a work giving aesthetic satisfaction. Without this fusion, it has, in Burke's words, "all the contortions of the Sybil without the inspiration." The significant difference between this book, and the many investigations made into children's reading habits during the last 20 years, lies in the author's interpretation of their preferences in terms of the meaning of art in personal growth.

Parents seeking guidance have frequently found a mass of information purporting to shed light on their imminent problems, only to realise that all they possess is another bevy of statistics, as illuminating as the list of capes and bays in the Victorian geography textbook. There is often some general inference that a great deal of reading energy remains untapped which could be used to raise the cultural level of children who, in early adolescence, are about to abandon their formal education. Miss Pickard's whole thesis, however, is directed in depth and in detail towards the urgent need to tap this energy; more especially towards the central importance to young children of a rich variety of well-told tales, for "A well-told tale can become a criterion for successful play, an example in keeping sufficient distance from events for mastery to become a possibility. Stories, far from being a waste of the children's time, are as important as play for their healthy psychological development; and the children have left us in no doubt that they recognize their importance."

The inferences are clear for the training of taste as well as for the developing mind and she makes practical suggestions for the choice of soundly constructed stories.

Her history of the decline of the oral tradition, and of the change in the balance of power wrought by the invention of printing, has a direct bearing not only on the children's need of the teller of tales but also on the present predicament in popular culture at all levels of appeal. She is nowhere concerned with censorious judgments, except to reveal the culpable ignorance which masquerades among adults as innocence, and nowhere with the "tyrannical duncery" of censorship. "The uncommunicated terrors of the earth," she writes, "which Thomas Nashe described before the decay of the great oral tradition as 'the sinnes of the night' which surmount 'the sinnes of the day', must be communicated if they are to be resolved." The integrative power of great art is her theme. She has made an outstanding contribution to the apprehension of its meaning in personal development.

THE WINTER TREE

"Accept me" said the winter tree
"And all the terror of my beauty,
Absence accept, and seek no flowering,
No future spring".

And "I accept" I said "your winter bough,
Your dark and thorny—now—
Your absences, and sing
With no wild bird of spring".

Yet as I spoke, the wind, the urgent wind
Bore blossoms on its breath.
And in my hands, strange flowers of blood and snow
Rejected death.

BERYL KAYE

LETTERS—

UNIDENTICAL TWINS

FRANCIS GRIERSON

THE dawn of each year is traditionally an occasion for the prediction of more or (usually) less desirable events, and 1961 was no exception to the rule.

Intrepid astronauts paying literally flying visits to the Moon and other planets; new light on the origin and development of our world; the exhumation of fabulous riches from an Eastern tomb; drugs to transform the modern Bill Sykes into a gentle philanthropist filled with love for mankind (e.g. the Editor of this journal); the prospects for peace and the possibilities of war: from these and other bewildering aspects of the present and the future it is pleasant to turn our thoughts to some of the more agreeable things that happened a century ago.

Among these was the publication in June, 1861, of two books which are poles apart in plot, place and time, and yet are linked not only by date of birth but also by the remarkable number of characteristics they have in common.

The books are *The Cloister and the Hearth*, by Charles Reade, dramatist and novelist (to use the order of precedence he preferred), and *Great Expectations*, by Charles Dickens.

Both authors have been among my literary gods almost since I learned to construct words from the alphabet, and it is good to know that modern reprints of their works are still in demand.

Before beginning to write this article I rashly decided to enjoy again the two centenary books and make notes, with the natural result that I soon was copying out favourite passages which simply *must* be quoted—and would more than fill a whole number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, to the *chagrin* of other contributors; so I must confine myself to brief synopses.

Reade's book, generally regarded as his masterpiece, tells a fascinating tale of life and love, men and manners, goodness and villainy in fifteenth century Europe, and a young man's flight from Holland to save his neck and in the hope of finding refuge and artistic fame in Italy.

Dickens, on the other hand, used mid-Victorian England as the setting for his story of a rural blacksmith's orphan apprentice who finds himself whisked (how does one whisk?) up to London as a young gentleman with a generous allowance from an undisclosed (but not unsuspected) benefactor, and the assurance of a handsome fortune in the not too far distant future.

Utterly different plots, though in both cases they are well constructed and contain surprises for the reader.

Both stories were successful serials, though Reade considerably lengthened his novel before publication in book form.

The respective heroes are Gerard, son of Elias the cloth merchant of Tergou, in Holland, and Philip Pirrip, always known as Pip. A young woman whose literary judgment I respect has pointed out that both were

young men to whom things happened, rather than carvers of their own future. It is true that they were initially victims of circumstances, but once the rather weak nature of each is revealed he becomes little more than an obedient steed ridden in turn by more forceful characters—and what a host of them!

In the *Cloister* Gerard's beloved and beautiful Margaret has twice his moral, and a good deal of his physical, courage, and needs them to endure her hard fate with an admirable dignity. Then there are the grave and upright Elias and his wife and children: crippled Kate, Giles the Dwarf, treacherous Sybrandt and Cornelis among them; the inimitable Denys, Burgundian arbalestrier whose *consigne* is *Courage, tout le monde, le Diable est mort!* and who dry-nurses Gerard in pain and peril; Dame Margaret Van Eyck, the great painter and her namesake's protector; the scoundrelly burgomaster—all these and many more are so perfectly drawn that to the reader they are people to be loved, hated or merely tolerated, but always *real* people.

It is the same with *Great Expectations*. I risk death at the hands of members of the Dickens Fellowship when I suggest that the Master was not invariably masterly and that this cannot be included among the best examples of his work. It is, nevertheless, a moving story, well compounded of humour and tragedy. Some of the characters are, I think, overdrawn, such as Miss Havisham, the half-demented bride deserted almost at the altar, and that sychophantic seedsman, Uncle Pumblechook; but sterling metal are blacksmith Joe Gargery and his housekeeper, and eventually wife, Biddy; Mr. Jaggers, a solicitor feared alike by Bench and burglar; Wemmick, his chief clerk, collector of portable property and devoted son of an Aged Parent; Estella, disdainful beauty whom Pip worshipped.

Pip himself was vain, snobbish (perhaps naturally), and rather tiresomely sorry for himself, but capable of genuinely generous actions, one of which benefited a young man named Herbert Pocket, son of Pip's tutor. Herbert is, to my mind, one of the finest portraits in the book, although technically a minor character. To this staunch comrade Pip owed more than money could repay, both in prosperity and in adversity. Abel Magwitch, the convict, is another convincing character whose importance to the plot is played down until the closing chapters.

I am not going to disclose the full plot of either book, because I hope that those of my readers who have not perused them will do so without delay, and I do not wish to spoil their pleasure.

Let me conclude by saying that both authors show their great humanity and understanding of human frailty. They had a warm affection for the good and strong hatred of the evil.

They possessed also the priceless gift of humour and sense of the ridiculous, but rarely allowed it to degenerate into cheap or unkind sneers.

If this brief and humble appreciation of two great men induces new readers to procure the two books, or old readers to take them again from the shelf, it will not have been written in vain.

JOHN GALSWORTHY AND THE JUST MAN

JOAN N. HARDING

THERE is, I often feel, a tendency to distinguish between Galsworthy the novelist and Galsworthy the dramatist. The latter is essentially the realist, acutely aware of the social unrest of his day and presenting the class struggle in all its acerbity and naked hate. The former, particularly in *The Forsyte Saga*, which still overshadows his other novels, is the romantic unfolding before our eyes of the rich tapestry of a bygone age, an era to which even the author himself looked back through the golden haze of retrospect. And if in *A Modern Comedy* and *The End of the Chapter* he is dealing with a period contemporary with his own prime, it is still sufficiently divided from us by the insuperable chasm which yawns between the pre-atomic age and our own for us to find here, too, those rumours of

"old, unhappy, far-off things
And battles long ago",

which are the very essence of romanticism.

The concentration demanded by the drama means that the writer can give us only those basic situations which cause the clash and interplay of character. Whatever superficial differences of costume, manners or setting we may find, the essential revelation of personality through a given situation is eternal, and so little has the industrial scene changed fundamentally within the last half-century that the problems presented in *Strife* or *The Silver Box* still have the ring of modernity. But not so in the novels. The greater detail in which the author can describe his background of contemporary manners and morals decrees that his work, though a more satisfying guide to the history of the period, thereby dates the more easily, so that all Galsworthy's novels come to us as a tale that is told, a chapter that has for ever ended.

A closer look into the novels should, however, convince us that Galsworthy's view of human nature is essentially the same in play and novel alike. If he had to define man in a phrase, he could easily describe him as a "litigious creature". Like the rest of the animal creation, he is dominated by the will to survival which is indivisible from the will to power, but man alone has vested his self-interest in a system which ostensibly seeks to protect the weak from the rapacity of the strong and to substitute for the summary satisfactions extorted by physical force the processes of arbitration based on an intellectual sifting of right and wrong. Occasionally the urge to seek the sharp, swift decisions of primitive violence break through the artificial restraints imposed upon man in society as when Michael Mont and Alexander Macgown resort to fisticuffs in the lavatory of the House of Commons, or Wilfred Desert and Jack Muskham fall upon each other in the street at Royston in modern man's equivalent of the now proscribed duel; but in the main, Galsworthy's characters are interested in the more orthodox machinery of the law in action, and the results it produces.

It is interesting to notice the numerous lawsuits in which his characters are involved—practically all of them relations by blood or marriage, and representing therefore only a very small section of society. There is Soames Forsyte's action against Bosinney for breach of contract, his divorce suit against Irene and young Jolyon, Marjorie Ferrer's action against Fleur for libel in *The Silver Spoon*, Gerald Corven's suing Clare and Tony Croom in *Over The River*. Together with these are various other trials and forms of arbitration—the proceedings of the directors of the PPRS, of which Soames is a member, in *The Silver Spoon*, the trial of Hubert Charwell for extradition in the magistrates' court in *Maid in Waiting*, the inquest on Ferse in the same novel, together with Dinny's first introduction to the workings of the law when she finds her Uncle Hilary in court on behalf of a girl from his parish who is charged with soliciting. Moreover, a large number of Galsworthy's characters are directly concerned with the law for their bread and butter. Soames himself, central to both *The Forsyte Saga* and *A Modern Comedy*, is a solicitor—"an attorney" as he is contemptuously dismissed by Lord Charles Ferrers in *The Silver Spoon*¹—as his father James had been before him, as James' maternal grandfather, Pierce by name, had been before him, and as later scions of the family, including Very Young Roger and Very Young Nicholas, were to become. Alison Charwell, friend of Fleur, is married to a Judge, Sir Lionel Charwell, KC, uncle to Michael and to Dinny Charwell, and Dinny herself eventually marries Eustace Dornford, KC, who has become the MP for her local constituency, and is thus, like Michael, caught up in the most intricate and extensive of all legal machinery, Parliament, the workshop where law itself is made.

Galsworthy's characters thus see the processes of arbitration from both angles, active and passive. They are themselves both the agents of the law and its victims, a situation summarised in the person of Soames who, after a lifetime spent in Law, realized more clearly than anyone the basic fatuousness of so many of its verdicts. "To be in the right and have to go into Court because of it, was one of the most painful experiences that could be undergone. The courts existed to penalize people who were in the right—in divorce, breach of promise, libel and the rest of it. Those who were in the wrong went to the South of France, or if they did appear, defaulted afterwards and left you to pay your costs."² Justice's myopia not only makes her prejudge the issue in her intervention between rich and poor, as in the plays. In her assessment of the relative value of the claims of those of equal status, she still fails to recognize reality, mistaking appearance for fact, shadow for substance.

The ultimate irony comes in the Law's condemnation of Clare and Tony Croom as guilty of adultery in *Over the River*, whereas so far their relationships had been, if somewhat indiscreet, at least technically innocent. To Clare, the verdict given against them legalized in advance any subsequent misconduct between them. The damages against Croom seemed to her an "indulgence" by which he purchased the right to the woman who could not yet be his wife, but was now no longer the wife of Corven either. Although she felt no vital attraction towards the young man, there

was thus established a certain "debt" which she felt she must pay. Even the more conservative Dinny could see that "transgressors by law ought to transgress".³ There is therefore only the most tenuous connection between law and morality, and little enough between law and justice.⁴

Who then is the *just* man, if not he who can claim the approval of the legal system? Plato's age-old problem is basic to Galsworthy's apprehension of character. If Justice as an abstraction has no reality in the councils of men, it can be known to humanity only in concrete terms of daily living. The "just" man would appear to be the man who has come to terms with his own nature, finding a zest in living for its own sake without any ulterior expectation, and accepting his fellow-beings as they are. Such a man has no illusions about his place in the universe, but is content with what life brings. He may be a Young Jolyon, condemned by the earnest Soames for the irregularity of certain passages of his life, or a Sir Lawrence Mont, whom Soames suspects of being "a light-weight",⁵ but both have achieved an inner equanimity and balance, a "just" weight in their assessment of relative values, impossible to those biased in any direction by personal possessions or prepossessions.

Man can expect little help from any power outside himself. The pathetic fallacy had little reality for Galsworthy, although his characters might be temporarily comforted by the benison of nature, as during Ferse's last hours in the countryside he had known as a boy,⁶ or, for Tony Croom, during the period of reaction after the law-suit and Clare's forced attempt to pay her "debt".⁷ Although there are countless passages in Galsworthy which show an amazing sympathy with Nature's powers over the human emotions,⁸ the response is always seen to be in man,⁹ not in nature, which remains uniformly indifferent to man's sufferings.

Neither can Galsworthy believe in a God who can be touched by the predicament of His creatures. If there is a Creator, He is remote from the fate of the beings He has produced, and abides Alone with the Great Alone, immutable, unapproachable, and, to a Wilfred Desert, "unknowable".¹⁰ Scepticism may hold a certain savour for the intellectuals, like Desert, but for the would-be believers, the mystery is not less insoluble. Dinny may respond intensely to the beauty of the haunts she has known from childhood, and long to pay tribute to their Maker. "She stood and tried hard not to believe in God. It seemed mean and petty to have more belief in God when things were going well than when they were instinct with tragedy; just as it seemed mean and petty to pray to God when you wanted something badly, and not pray when you didn't. But after all God was Eternal Mind that you couldn't understand; God was not a loving Father that you could. The less she thought about all that the better."¹¹

Even her Uncle Hilary, after a lifetime of service as a parish priest, was no more convinced about the ultimate realities of religion than his brother Lionel was about the efficacy of the Law.¹² "In God I believe, but not a merciful one as we understand the word. . . . If my beliefs were known, I should be unfrocked. That wouldn't help. My job's a concrete one."¹³ Watching Ferse asleep on the bosom of Mother Earth in the interval between his frenzied flight and his last tragic fall to death, his brother

Adrian came to share his feelings. "For those two quiet hours of watching that prostrate figure among the sheep, Adrian was filled not with futile rebellion and bitterness but with a strange unhappy wonder. The old Greek dramatists had understood the tragic plaything which the gods make of man; such understanding had been overlaid by the Christian doctrine of a merciful God. Merciful?—No! Hilary was right! Faced by Ferse's fate—what would one do? What—while the gleam of sanity remained? When a man's life was so spun that no longer could he do his job, be no more to his fellows than a poor distraught and frightening devil, the hour of eternal rest in quiet earth had surely come. Hilary had seemed to think so too; yet he was not sure what his brother would do if it came to the point. His job was with the living, a man who died was lost to him, so much chance of service gone."¹⁴

Only in the service of others can man's urge to live find the significance and reassurance denied him both by law and religion. This zest for life is the outstanding characteristic of the race. Set him in the most unpromising of circumstances, even in Uncle Hilary's St. Augustine's-in-the-Meads, confront him with the most discouraging of tasks, and man's will to live is still such that he somehow adapts himself to his world and survives. Granted there are the weakest who go to the wall, the Bickets, the Bergfelds, but, in the main, the race goes on. Its highest expression is found in those who, like the Charwells, have inherited from the past a tradition of service to their fellowmen. "Father, and Uncle Lionel, and Uncle Hilary, and even Uncle Adrian, always think first of what they ought to do. Very fine, of course, but rather dull,"¹⁵ as it seemed to a Dinny fighting to release herself from that same code of duty which had sustained her during Hubert and Uncle Adrian's troubles and was to reassert itself during Clare's tribulations, but from which temporarily she was trying to break free in order to fit in the better with Wilfred's attitude of personal self-sufficiency.¹⁶

Such a tradition comes the more easily to those with their roots in the countryside with its timeless institutions and carefully graded relationships, unjustifiable by any kind of logic. Modern town life may be, in Michael's phrase, "no slouch of a miracle", "all the confusion of the greatest conglomeration in the world",¹⁷ but it does not make for the stability of society necessary to the service of one's fellows as individuals, and not merely as abstractions. Fleur's service in the canteen during the Strike is on an entirely different plane from Dinny's relationship with Ben and Betty, the old people living on the family estate whom she had known from childhood. To build up such relationships within the urban framework takes time, and Galsworthy was not convinced that modern man had that much time with which to play. To rush into well-meant but premature schemes was to court disaster, as in Michael's abortive experiment with the Bergfelds. The only hope was with those, like Uncle Hilary or Norah Curfew, who were prepared to work with actual people where they found them, and not become disillusioned when their noblest of intentions proved impracticable or human nature intractable, still going on because only thus could they give expression to the truth as

they knew it; that once man ceases to serve, he himself atrophies and dies, be it as an individual or a species.

Such a truth cannot be analysed logically. Wisdom is of those who do not set too much store by the logical nature of the world. An Aunt Em, in *The Silver Spoon*, considered "rather a deah; but not too frightfully all there"¹⁸ has, by the time of *Over the River*, become recognized, by Dinny at least, "as the wisest member of our family. Take life seriously and you're nowhere. She doesn't. She may want to, but she can't."¹⁹ Such an imperviousness to the discrepancies and contradictions of life makes one the better able to cope with the daily crises of life, as they arise. Too great a concern with explanations renders man inept and introspective.

But if the metaphysician is out of favour because of his probing into ultimates, the sceptic, the metaphysician in reverse, is no better off. "Scepticism only makes one restless,"²⁰ says Fleur, summing up the *malaise* of her generation. Beneath her constant craving for change and sensation, there has been growing a realization of the need for "roots", which her husband's family had so far had to hold them, but which Soames, with all his wealth, had been unable to provide for her. Enquiring of the comfortably pagan Michael what they should do about the religious education of their son, the yet-unborn Kit, she answers his "let him rip", with a comment which seems momentarily out of character. "I think having no religion makes one feel that nothing matters." She wants her son "snug and convinced and all that".²¹ The white monkey had tasted the fruit of intellectual epicureanism, found it bitter, and thrown away the rind in disgust.

One wonders how much of Galsworthy's own attitude is contained in Fleur's sudden atavistic longing. One can afford the wisdom of the inconsequent, the selflessness of the practical only as long as one has as an incentive the will to live, and the desire to see others living, but before one can have either, one has to have reached either for oneself or have inherited from the past Browning's conclusion that the world means intensely, and preferably means good. And to Michael, the evidence seemed to point to the twentieth century's losing that zest because of its loss of belief. "Who was it said the landing-place for modernity was a change of heart; the re-birth of a belief that life was worth while and better life attainable? 'Better life?' Prerogative of priests? Not now. Humanity had got to save itself! To save itself—what was that, after all, but expression of the will to live? But did humanity will to live as much as it used? That was the point. . . . Was the English 'will to live' as strong as ever; or had they all become so spoiled, so sensitive to life they had weakened on it? Had they sucked their silver spoon so long that, threatened with a spoon of bone, they preferred to get down from the table?"²²

It seems to me Galsworthy is suggesting modern man's "will to live" is being sapped by two things, his repudiation of faith and the surfeiting of his appetite by material acquisitions, and only the re-acquiring of a faith can hold in check his lust for possessions, be they property, money or

people. That is why it seems to be no coincidence that, when, in his last book of his last trilogy, in contrast to the antinomian arrogance of Desert, the brutishness of Jerry Corven, or the gay fecklessness of young Croom, he seeks to create a character embodying the various facets of the just man, he makes him a *pratiquant* of the one religion which has not been modified by the clamours of modernity. Eustace Dornford may not be a very exciting lover, but even the vivacious Clare admits the value of a man who can leave your mouth alone. To be able to control one's appetites, to hold conflicting desires in equipoise, to work hard and consistently, in short to have all the old fashioned qualities of the gentleman, requires the discipline of some kind of belief, and for that Galsworthy turns to Catholicism. The Catholics may, in Michael's phrase, "go it blind",²³ but without some sort of a faith man is doomed.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Galsworthy, *A Modern Comedy* (London: Heinemann, 1952), p. 407 (*The Silver Spoon*, ch. VIII).
- ² *Ibid.*, pp. 453-54.
- ³ Galsworthy, *End of the Chapter* (London: Heinemann, 1948), p. 827 (*Over the River*, ch. XXXIV).
- ⁴ Cf. Dinny's conversation with her Uncle Lionel, who sees the defence of Clare's suit as a mistake. To Dinny, who naively expresses the view she "thought the law existed to administer justice", he replied abruptly, "I don't like juries", p. 768. Abbreviations subsequently used: SS=*Silver Spoon*.
WM=*White Monkey*.
MW=*Maid in Waiting*.
FW=*Flowering Wilderness*.
O the R=*Over the River*.
- ⁵ *A Modern Comedy*, p. 278 (WM), cf. Preface X.
- ⁶ *End of the Chapter*, p. 222 (MW).
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 831-32 (O the R).
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 848.
- ⁹ *A Modern Comedy*, p. 272 (WM).
- ¹⁰ *End of the Chapter*, p. 338 (FW).
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 309 (MW).
- ¹² Cf. 4. *Supra*.
- ¹³ *End of the Chapter*, p. 220 (MW).
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 222 (MW).
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 353 (FW).
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 454 (FW).
- ¹⁷ *A Modern Comedy*, p. 288 (WM).
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 476 (SS).
- ¹⁹ *End of the Chapter*, p. 658 (O the R).
- ²⁰ *A Modern Comedy*, p. 273 (WM).
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-73.
- ²² *A Modern Comedy*, pp. 463-64 (SS).
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 272 (WM).

CENTENNIAL—

MILL: "REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT"

ENID LAKEMAN

"THE subdivision of London into . . . independent districts, each with its separate arrangements for local business, . . . prevents the possibility of consecutive or well-regulated co-operation for common objects, precludes any uniform principle for the discharge of local duties, compels the general government to take things upon itself which would be best left to local authorities if there were any whose authority extended to the entire metropolis . . ." This is not an opinion of the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London; it is quoted from a work that appeared a hundred years ago this month—John Stuart Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government*. The topicality may lead us to re-read it.

My own re-reading has impressed me with its wide range. Mill himself considered the value of the book to lie less in any novel suggestions than in "the fact of bringing them together and exhibiting them in their connection". Discussion of the same political principles covers why representative government is a good thing and the machinery of its achievement; local government and federation; qualifications for the franchise and the duties of a representative to his electors; the government of those not yet ready for democracy and—above all—education in citizenship by the practice of its duties. Interest in the best form of government in the abstract is combined with recognition that differing circumstances demand wide variety in practice.

Mill was concerned that every member of the community should share in directing its affairs to the extent of his fitness to do so. He should do so by choosing to act on his behalf able and trustworthy representatives with the wisdom to decide what course should be followed and to appoint administrators with the technical qualifications necessary to carry out those decisions. Mill would have agreed with Viscount Cecil that experts must be "on tap but not on top", the electors through their representatives having ultimate control over the bureaucrats but not attempting to usurp their functions.

A representative body that is to function well must contain within itself people who will voice all the different opinions necessary to be considered before coming to a decision, and those people must be of the highest quality obtainable. Mill had confidence in the ability of the electors to recognize ability and in general to choose representatives superior to themselves—provided they were given the choice; their representatives must be their real choice and not mere nominees of some interest. Interests certainly must have their spokesmen, but no one of them must be allowed to dominate; the proper representation of all sections is necessary not only that Parliament may draw on their combined wisdom but to protect the rights of each. A group without its own representatives to stand up for it in the legislature is apt to have its rights overlooked even by a benevolent

government, and this applies to groups within a nation as much as to nations ruled by a foreign power. The need to give people control over their own destinies has a striking illustration in Mill's remark that the mis-government of Ireland had "completely ceased for nearly a generation"; we know only too well that the then existing machinery of government from Westminster afforded no guarantee that this happy state of affairs would continue. Today, when we are arguing about the mistakes made, or likely to be made, by infant democracies, it may be well to recall Mill's opinion that even a despotism of local rulers is preferable to a "despotism of those who neither hear nor see nor know anything about their subjects". At least it will probably seem so to the people most nearly affected.

How the matter appears to the governed is indeed a factor whose importance has been impressed on our generation. Our judgment of whether Africans are ready to govern themselves or not is not accepted by them, and the likely consequences of refusing self-government to those who are convinced they are entitled to it have to be weighed against the dangers of power in inexperienced hands.

Whether dealing with people not yet enfranchised or with those who have grown up in an ancient democracy, we should heed Mill's insistence that our democratic institutions should be such as to "promote the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves". Whether they do or not, and how much more they might do so, are far too little discussed.

Much of what Mill said is now almost universally accepted; some has been rejected. Few now will contest his opinion that sex is irrelevant to the franchise—though the representation of the female half of the nation by only one-twenty-fifth of the MPs remains an anomaly that few seem prepared to tackle. Women loud in their complaints against the prejudice of local party organizations that refuse to adopt them as Parliamentary candidates appear themselves to be prejudiced against consideration of a remedy. On the other hand, most people seem to have made up their minds against Mill that the secret ballot is a necessary protection and that MPs must be paid by the State if they are not to be confined to people who are either themselves wealthy or the nominees of wealthy interests. Literacy or other tests for the franchise, or extra votes for the highly educated, are now matters considered only in relation to the emergent nations undertaking their first elections. As far as our own country is concerned, the spread of general education seems to have led to the conclusion that Mill himself tentatively voiced in his *Autobiography* when regretting not having been able to discuss the franchise proposals with his wife, on whose judgment he so greatly relied: if the proposal "ever overcomes the strong feeling which exists against it, this will only be after the establishment of a systematic National Education by which the various grades of politically valuable acquirement may be accurately defined and authenticated. Without this it will always remain liable to strong, possibly conclusive, objections; and with this, it would perhaps not be needed." Certainly the granting of a second vote to university graduates did not produce any benefits that would encourage further experiments of that

kind; except when accompanied by the use of a different electoral system, this second vote gave no results suggesting superior wisdom in the university electors, but merely duplicated those typical of any other constituency.

Where this extra vote did produce strikingly different results was in four of the university constituencies in the last eight general elections of their existence; that is, in constituencies voting under a different system from all the rest. To that system Mill attached the highest importance, recurring to it again and again in this work, yet it is precisely this which most politicians choose to ignore. Thomas Hare's system of "Personal Representation", published a few years before *Representative Government*, was hailed by Mill in his *Autobiography* as "the greatest improvement of which the system of representative government is susceptible"; it solved problems hitherto appearing insoluble and opened up hitherto unsuspected possibilities.

Among the most important of those possibilities is that "promotion of the virtue and intelligence of the people" which Mill considered a primary duty of a democratic system. It is the object of much devoted work both within the political parties and outside, but our electoral system works against it. We urge the electors to take their responsibilities seriously, to consider carefully the parties' proposals on everything from pensions to nuclear disarmament and make up their minds which is best—and then we require them to vote simply between one miscellany of policies and another, without the means of supporting or condemning any one policy. In a situation such as now afflicts the Labour Party, the voter cannot even be sure for what miscellany he is voting; the defence policy or the industrial policy of the Labour Party in the next Parliament may be quite different from that of his local candidate, and will depend not on the choice of the voters but on how many candidates of each complexion are selected by their local party organization for seats that the party can win.

We should all no doubt agree with Mill that our representatives should be of the highest possible quality, but no selection on grounds of quality is open to the voter; that selection is done by relatively very few people meeting to choose the single candidate that a party must have to avoid "splitting the vote". Sometimes, as in my own home, that meeting chooses a man admitted by his own chairman to be "completely unknown" in the constituency.

We impress on the electors the duty of voting, yet we allow them to be discouraged from doing so, both by the unsatisfactory nature of the choice to which they are restricted and by the knowledge that their vote will probably make no difference. Little enthusiasm can be expected of the man who has voted all his life without once seeing the result any different from what it would have been if he had stayed at home.

We defend the secret ballot as enabling each elector to vote without fear for the candidate he really prefers, yet a large part of a present-day election campaign is designed to deter the elector from voting for his own real choice—for no reason but that few are expected to agree with him.

An MP's constituents are expected to take an interest in how he performs his duties, yet it is not they who can decide to re-elect him if he has done

well or to reject him if he has betrayed their trust; that decision is in the hands of his local party organization, and only in the most exceptional circumstances can it be overridden.

Moreover, even if the votes cast accord with the voter's real wishes, the result they produce may be very different. An instance that altered the course of history occurred some years after Mill's death, when the general election of 1886 gave a large anti-Home Rule majority in the House of Commons although candidates favouring Home Rule for Ireland were supported by the majority of electors; in our own time, the Labour Party was turned out of office by the very election in which it obtained the most support, and similar distortions abound.

The remedy for all these evils Mill saw in the electoral system originally proposed by Thomas Hare for the whole country as one constituency and since modified, to suit a 30 million electorate, for use in constituencies returning up to about seven members each. The voter numbers candidates in the order of his preference. He may vote first for all the candidates of a party or other group, but he can—indeed must—select for his first preference whichever of these accords most nearly with his own opinions or his own ideas of personal merit. He can vote honestly, knowing that this cannot cause his vote to be "wasted", provided he records further preferences for that vote to be transferred to if it cannot help his favourite. People who agree—whether on a major party question or on the merits of an individual—can thus combine their votes to elect whomsoever they desire. Both the majority and any large minorities get fair representation.

In Mill's day this was an untried theory. It is so no longer, but it meets with blank opposition from people who decline to discuss the actual experience of its use, whether in this country, in Ireland or in Australia, for electing a co-operative society committee, the Church Assembly or our former University MPs. Argument that our present system of representative government is the best practicable would be legitimate; toleration of its defects while refusing to consider suggested improvements would outrage Mill's standards of political morality.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

SUNDAY SCHOOLS THEN AND NOW

MARION TROUGHTON

ROBERT RAIKES, pioneer of the Sunday School Movement, died 150 years ago in April. Before his venture of 1780 there had been a few attempts to set up Sunday Schools, but he can be classed as the real founder. The aims of those early schools were far different from those of modern times. Children were taught to read and write, though Hannah More was firmly convinced that it was a mistake to teach the latter subject. One early worker, Sarah Trimmer, declared: "It is not intended that the children of the poor should be instructed in the branches of liberal education, but merely in English to enable them to read the Gospels." Nowadays the State takes care of education, and religious instruction is the only subject taught in Sunday Schools. Yet all branches of the Christian Church find it increasingly difficult to obtain and retain scholars.

In the eighteenth century it was the duty of the clergy to catechize young people regularly. This was often neglected, partly because the children did not attend church to be catechized and partly because most of the clergy were apathetic. Few would have attempted to stop the rough, ragged children who swarmed the streets and start asking them the Catechism. If they had done so the only answer would probably have been bad language. Yet it was such children who aroused the compassion of Robert Raikes, master-printer and proprietor of the *Gloucester Journal*. Noticing their plight—ignorant, dirty, up to all kinds of mischief, especially on Sunday when the older among them had respite from their long, monotonous week-day toil, he decided that something ought to be done to help them. By whom? By himself? An inward voice seemed to reply: "Try!" At the same time as he opened his Sunday School in Sooty Alley, Gloucester, the Rev. T. Stocks opened one in another part of the town. At first Robert Raikes employed a Mrs. Meredith to take charge of his school, which had a week-day as well as a Sunday session. On Sunday the scholars attended from 10 o'clock to 12 in the morning and from one o'clock to five in the afternoon. After six months the school was transferred to a Mrs. Critchley's in Southgate. Most of the earliest scholars were wild; some even took their tame badgers with them. By means of a rod and his eye-glass, Robert Raikes managed to enforce some discipline. He told them that the latter enabled him to look right inside them to discover if they had been good since the previous Sunday! Lessons were taken from his Sunday School Companion, a reading primer that was later published in 1794.

In one particular he was very modern, for he firmly believed in home visiting. He observed: "I frequently go round to their habitation to inquire into their behaviour at home and into the conduct of the parents to whom I give some little hints, now and then, as well as to the children." His rather pompous manner may have marred his visiting tours a little as it spoilt the impression he made on Fanny Burney. Yet even though she did not like his "forward" and "voluble" manner, she had to acknowledge his good nature and the benevolent interest behind the work. She

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recorded: "Mr. Raikes was the founder of the Sunday School—an institution so admirable, so fraught, I hope, with future good and mercy to generations yet unborn, that I saw almost with reverence the man who first suggested it."

Being the proprietor and editor of the local paper he could give his new venture as much publicity as he wished. On one occasion when others had followed his example he wrote: "Some of the clergy in different parts of this county, being bent upon attaining a reformation among the children of the labouring class, are establishing Sunday Schools for rendering the Lord's Day subservient to the ends of instruction, which has hitherto been prostituted to bad purposes. . . . To remedy this evil, persons duly qualified are employed to instruct those who cannot read; and those that may learn to read are taught the Catechism and conducted to Church. By thus keeping their minds engaged, the day passes profitably and not disagreeably."

News of such successes spread. Sunday Schools sprang up all over the country. John Wesley was keenly interested in the movement and influenced the setting up of some schools. Visiting Bingley in 1784, he recorded: "Before service I stepped into the Sunday School which contained 240 children taught every Sunday by masters and superintended by the curate." At Bolton the number of scholars rose from 550 in 1786 to between 900-1,000 two years later. In January, 1788, Wesley mentioned "that blessed work of setting up Sunday School in Chester. It seems that these will be one great means of renewing religion throughout the land." His hopes were more than justified.

By July, 1803, eight years before Robert Raikes's death, there were so many schools that the Sunday School Union was formed. One of the prime movers behind this was W. Brodie Gurney. After visiting a school in Shoreditch and being impressed with the improvements introduced, he asked: "Why shouldn't Sunday School teachers get together and try to improve, if possible, their plan of instruction and encourage others to open new schools?" His vision led to the formation of the great inter-denominational body which still carries on the work under the name of the National Sunday School Union. During its history much has been done to raise the standard of teaching in nonconformist Sunday Schools by means of special courses, text-books, lesson aids and examinations. The Church of England has also special lesson books and schemes for efficient teaching methods in addition to the Diocesan Sunday School Associations. Even in Victorian times such helps were necessary, but they are even more important today when bright, modern methods employed in state schools make the children expect as high a standard in Sunday School.

Crowded Sunday Schools were a feature of Victorian times when families were large and travel restricted. Sometimes the annual trip by wagonette to a nearby beauty spot was the only outing children enjoyed from one year to another. Like the northern "Whitsuntide walks", this event was eagerly anticipated. Nowadays such treats are no enticement to children whose parents probably think nothing of driving a hundred or so miles to spend half a day at the seaside. Family car outings, Sunday excursions

and sport, television and the modern trend of materialism are all blamed for the decline in Sunday School attendance. Clergymen, ministers and teachers are worried by this problem and committees are often set up to examine the decline and think up remedies for halting it. Such remedies are not as easily produced as rabbits out of a conjuror's hat.

A few years ago a committee set up by the Free Church Federal Council's Youth Department, the NSSU, Westhill Training College and the British Lessons Council issued a report entitled *Sunday Schools Today*. This stated that the decline in attendance had really started at the beginning of the century. Figures were given to prove this: "In 1900 there were 3,302,000 children attending the Sunday Schools of the Free Churches. By 1939 this figure had dropped to 1,930,000. Now there are only about 1,533,000 children and rather more than 20,000 schools with 230,000 teachers in the Free Churches." It also revealed the interesting fact that children who started attending at an early age were usually those who remained faithful for a longer period.

Just after the Second World War, figures for Sunday School attendance increased. In July, 1947, the Assistant Secretary of the NSSU wrote: "Sunday School work is in a vigorous state and we can look forward with confidence to increasing health as the years pass. The long period of decline which has been the despair of the timid and the delight of the pessimists, shows every sign of giving way to new and encouraging developments." This statement was firmly founded on statistics, which also revealed that over three-quarters of the children eventually left Sunday School without becoming full members of their particular church.

The anticipated upward trend did not materialize. Instead, after 1953, numbers began to decline. This was also the case in the Church of England. All denominations find it increasingly difficult to retain children aged 11-13; these years seem the dangerous ones, and if a child can be "nursed" through them, there is a bigger chance of its becoming a church member. Whereas Robert Raikes's Sunday School was founded to teach children to read and write on Sundays, instilling Christian principles at the same time, the modern school has a different but equally difficult task—that of providing a more specialized training in Christianity than the children receive at day school and also encouraging them to become members of their particular church when they are old enough. It has been proved that recreational week-night activities help to retain children and teen-agers. It has also been proved, all over the country, that the Sunday Schools with attractive premises and up-to-date equipment are most successful.

Only by such means will the Sunday Schools continue efficiently; otherwise Family Church or some other means will replace a movement which, in the opinion of some, has outgrown its usefulness, but which, in that of others, has still a great part to play in guiding children along the road to useful citizenship with aims and desires not merely weighted to material things. One thing is essential: the co-operation of parents. Robert Raikes knew that when he first started the movement and it is still an essential factor today.

A monthly review of some of the notable cinema and TV presentations

THE MONTH IN VISION

DOMINIC LE FOE

Life as led by Hollywood has been depicted not once but several times this month. If it bears only the slightest resemblance to life as led by humanity, nonetheless, it remains an amusing study.

One uses the term Hollywood in the generic sense—for one of the jolliest of comedies this month, *The Grass Is Greener*, is allegedly a British production. Certainly it takes its story from the vastly successful stage-comedy of the same name, and it also brings Miss Deborah Kerr and Miss Jean Simmons into a splendid sort of double-harness that resolves itself into the marriage yoke; but from this agreeable point the film becomes (despite the melodic intervention of some past Coward) very much an *American in Paris* sort of piece. Mr. Robert Mitchum plays, not unexpectedly, an American oil millionaire; Mr. Cary Grant plays, totally unexpectedly, an English Earl. One finds that, although it is quite possible to believe that Mr. Mitchum has an oil-well, it is quite impossible truly to believe that Mr. Grant wears a coronet—but one still suspends disbelief because of the general air of good spirits that prevails.

For those who do not know the slender plot, we must recapitulate. Our English Earl is defending his heritage after the ravages of death-duties by permitting the public at large access to his residence on the payment of the now usual fee of 2s. 6d. His wife (and Her Ladyship) does her bit (apart from breeding his heirs) with cut flowers and mushroom farming. The public's trips, however, are a seriously commercial proposition for them both. They even go to the length of employing a butler because they have discovered that it is good for trade. It is into the private apartments of this aristocratic showroom that the American oil tycoon stumbles, in time to form an immediate attachment for Her Ladyship, to the immediate awareness of her husband, who is possessed of that wonderful power of sixth sense, tuned to the urge for self-preservation, which has been a major factor in permitting the survival of the British aristocracy into these troubled decades.

Despite the prescience of her husband, within no time the scene is set for a romantic affair; still the noble Lord plays his cards with care; the situation builds up with deceptive ease until finally the wicked, illicit couple have been tricked into week-ending with the husband, who promptly stages a duel to win back his wife. Aided and abetted in all this, it must be added, by one of that species of females known as "best friends", who seem to believe themselves possessed of a divine mission to harry their dearest chums whenever possible—a sort of Queen's Proctor of Café society.

Of course all pans out in the end; Her Ladyship opts for true love and Old England; the American settles for the aforesaid best friend and the knowledge that even a gold-digger must sometime rest on her spade. The message (every film has a message!) is that family and home ties resist

the strongest pull. This old cynic declines the message but applauds the sentiment. As an exercise in expertise, the film is a delight; Cary Grant manages the Englishman with considerable panache, and delivers a comedy line with the same dead-pan deftness that remains as devastating as ever; Robert Mitchum, too, develops a lighter touch that makes a very agreeable change. But in honesty, it is the women who take the honours. Deborah Kerr is quite delightful as the would-be wayward wife, portraying with perceptive ease that splendid sort of English gentlewoman that has been the backbone of fêtes and flower-shows for generations. But it must also be recorded that Miss Jean Simmons makes a brave dash at the laurels and may even have captured them. Her portrayal of a truly "funny" woman must rank in the class set by the late (and lamented yet) Kay Kendall. It was a pleasure to see Miss Simmons display with such telling effect another facet of her truly remarkable talent.

It was little short of misery, however, to sit through a picture called *Pepe*. This repellent piece of whimsy is the result of some cinematic jerry-building wherein a vast and utterly unamusing edifice is erected on the slight and restricted talent possessed by a Mexican performer called Cantinflas. Every device of the publicist has been exercised to persuade us that Cantinflas is a great figure in the gallery of screen clowns. He is nothing of the sort; he is a competent shadow of a number of inimitable performers; but the shadow is no substitute for the substance. The film (to my mind) tries to cash in on the now-legendary *Around the World in 80 Days*, even to the typography on the posters, but although the latter film was studded with stars it was also blessed with a narrative that made some claims on the audience's attention: in short the stars were made to twinkle for their supper. *Pepe*, however, calls upon them to do little save walk across the screen mouthing various paragraphs of improbable and ill-chosen dialogue, with the result that even great screen artists like Frank Sinatra come across as dealy dull, and lesser lights are extinguished. It would be interesting to know how much Bing Crosby would have paid not to have been seen in the film. Jack Lemmon must be distraught. One consolation however: no one can make you sit through it; I have done my duty—no need for you to do yours.

Now to talk of the latest Peter Sellers film—another landmark in the career of this remarkable talent. *Mr. Topaze* not only gives him the opportunity of another well-rounded characterization—it also sees him for the first time as a Director. It is certainly a successful début, although it is to be hoped that he will not forsake his own appearances for the more frequent opportunities of directing other people's. *Mr. Topaze* is a rather sad (but immensely funny in narrative) tale about an honest and kindly schoolmaster in a French provincial private school, who becomes the "front" for a corrupt city councillor, and the repository for the proceeds of the graft and corruption behind all the deals. As a production the film is delightful; properly eschewing complete reality, or complete fantasy, it is brilliantly conceived, so that it is hard to say whether it be a modern or a period scene. In the settings, too, this "timeless" aura has been captured splendidly, aided by some skilful use of colour, so skilful in fact

that the shabby and the seedy look shabby and seedy, but never sordid. The realization of the school scenes are markedly successful in this.

Peter Sellers plays Mr. Topaze with a wondrous sympathy, and produces a voice which is quite beautiful; the transition from naïve dominie to tough tycoon is handled with tremendous authority—no small achievement in the light of the fact that he is directing himself. His supporting cast rise to the opportunities offered, Herbert Lom, in particular, giving a neatly-balanced projection of the crook who gets cheated, and Leo McKern bringing an almost Dickensian completeness to the part of the Headmaster. The message of the film is not to be commended. The film is.

Candour prohibits my saying much that is critical about TV this month, for I made a foolish error of castigating *Bootsie and Snudge* under the title *The Army Game*. This can only be explained by the fact that the two principals in *Bootsie* began their careers in *The Army Game* and, so far as I can tell, are rendering the same performances. *Bootsie and Snudge* is still not a very funny programme, but it does, in the moment of apology, allow me to repeat the comment that Clive Dunn's contributions are little short of inspired. In deference to one and all, I will refrain completely from commenting upon *The Army Game* as at present constituted.

The BBC have been ploughing away with *On The Spot*, the televised version of a "Be Your Own Boss" contest. Admittedly, the competitors who are seeking to win the £5,000 and so implement their brainwaves have far longer with the judges than the half-an-hour programme would suggest, but even so it is not quite clear that justice has been seen to be done. The judges themselves seem very obtuse; one tycoon in particular has a truly disagreeable habit of prefacing the most deadly and damning question with the palpably untrue remark, "Mr. . . . I want to help you . . ." Perhaps his PR adviser is too scared to tell him how awful it sounds. A definite hit has, at last, been scored by Arthur Askey in his new series. This genial and able performer has waited a long time to find a formula that will withstand the penetrating stare of the TV lens—and at last he seems to have managed it.

TV drama has not been good this month, but there is no doubt that the standard of performance is rising all the time. There can be few occasions when an indifferent performance is given, and usually the performances are better than the script would merit.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

ADOLF EICHMANN

Eichmann—His Career and Crimes. Charles Wighton. Odhams. 21s.

This book is more than the story of Eichmann's life and activities. It is an indictment of that German mentality which culminated in Nazism. *Befehl ist Befehl* (an order is an order) was a German saying characteristic for German thinking through four hundred years. "Luther agreed to accept unquestioningly the temporal power of the dictatorial, illiberal princes" who backed his ideas, and this obedience led to the rise of Frederick II, Bismark, the Kaiser, and Hitler; it also contributed "not a little to the so-called democratic dictatorship of Konrad Adenauer." Eichmann was but "a symbol of the political system which Germany has produced over the centuries." His blind obedience to Hitler set him "on the road that led to the gas chambers of Auschwitz." Millions hailed the man who preached the collective guilt of the Jews. "The Italians as a people are not and never have been anti-Semitic. The Germans were and to a large extent still are." When, on November 11, 1938, the German synagogues went up in flames the German masses were "not unduly" alarmed. They still went on shouting "Perish Judah" after Hitler had said in the Reichstag on January 30, 1939: "If international Jewish financiers inside and outside Europe should again succeed in precipitating the nations into a world war the result will not be the Bolshevization of Europe, and a victory for the Jews. The result will be the extermination of the Jewish race in Europe." He exterminated the Jews of Europe, but his war caused the Bolshevization of half of Europe.

Eichmann "avidly read the anti-Semitic publications" which appeared in the Vienna of the 'twenties. He joined the Nazi party and later became "the supreme tycoon of Mass Murder Incorporated." Rudolf Hoess, commandant of Auschwitz, found out that a vermin-killing gas—Zyklon B—could also kill Russian commissars who had been sent to Auschwitz. So why not kill the Jews in the same manner? Mr. Wighton also describes on several pages of his book the unspeakable pogroms during which Jews were murdered by shooting. He illustrates his book with snapshots taken by the Hitler thugs themselves, of Jewish men, women, and children, queueing up to get into the gas chambers, of emaciated Jewish children and of a pile of shoes taken from exterminated victims. Eichmann had about 100,000 assistants, among them many professors and several hundred doctors. Mr. Wighton does not forget to mention that "a series of grim anti-Semitic atrocities was perpetrated almost exclusively by the rank and file of the *Wehrmacht*—the German High Command was not without considerable sympathy for the anti-Jewish activities of Heydrich and Eichmann." General Eisenhower, we read, "recognised that the crimes uncovered by his troops were unique in history."

Eichmann's final escape to Argentina and his abduction by Israelis as told by the author is a fascinating story in itself.

Mr. Wighton applies Lord Acton's famous words: "Power tends to corrupt. Absolute power corrupts absolutely", to the Germans of Hitler's Reich. He reminds us that Eichmann boasted to his crony, Baron Dieter von Wisliceny: "I shall leap into my grave laughing, because the feeling that I have the deaths of five million people on my conscience will be for me a source of extraordinary satisfaction." We also read what Wisliceny said to Eichmann: "God grant that our enemies never have the opportunity of doing the same to the German people." We all know what happened to the Germans in 1945—not at the hand of the Jews but at the hand of Czechs, Poles, and Russians against whom Hitler's

heroes committed crimes almost as hideous as those committed against the Jews. "The Teutonic conscience is a remarkable thing", says Mr. Wighton, and he illustrates this by reminding us that, while Eichmann is awaiting trial in Israel, Dr. Hans Globke, "who helped to write the commentary on the Nuremberg Laws, is State Secretary to Dr. Adenauer."

J. LESSER

THE ELECTORAL IMPACT OF TELEVISION

Television and the Political Image. Joseph Trenaman and Denis McQuail. Methuen. 30s.

The observer watches the demolition of a cherished myth with mixed feelings: relief that the myth had been so demonstrated, sorrow that a hard-held view had been proven false.

The myth in this instance is the widely shared belief that the 1959 General Election would go down in the annals as "The TV Election". Certainly it was the first General Election which had permitted the powers of mass penetration possessed by television to be used by the party nabobs, but it is plain from the study of this careful analysis that television had but little effect on the overall result. Certainly few voters admit to having changed their allegiance because of what they saw on television—although the survey discloses some interesting data on their retention of ideas presented by the propagandists: large percentages of viewers recalling with clarity subjects which had only been discussed for brief periods of time.

It is plain that the authors have been themselves fascinated at the vistas opened up—their every chapter breathes some of the enthusiasm they themselves felt; the weakness and strength of their researches rests in the fact that much of their material stems from the findings of the computer analysis—and this is based only on figures gleaned from two parliamentary divisions. One would like to have seen more geographical ground covered in such a survey.

The joint-authors are both employed under the Granada Fellowship for Television Research at the University of Leeds, and this is a most valuable expression of their work in this field. The book does not presume to explain the motivation that prompted people to remain loyal or strike their political colours, but one would think, having studied the wealth of data presented, that the reason television did not have the great impact predicted rests in the fact that although it is the medium of mass communication, the audience view as separate entities, each in their own home, each with an individual receiver. As a result the ties and pulls of early days are fortified by the familiar surrounds, the familiar arguments even, of other members of the family—and so the impact is dissipated. It was significant that the authors themselves point to the fact that waverers tended ultimately to favour the majority group in their own constituency—thus the sitting member reaped this small benefit irrespective of party. This demonstrates a frequently overlooked difficulty that faces the Liberal party—namely that for a party that holds few seats there exists but little in the way of "group therapy" to speed the conversions—Liberal gains are won as evangelists win converts: a method that takes but little cognisance of the party "machine"—in other words old majorities influence new results.

The authors have made it clear that if television and radio did not signally affect the course of many results, it certainly underlined the necessity for voting and for taking a positive part in the national proceedings, and the outcome must suggest that democracy has little to fear so long as these potent media are used with justice and impartiality.

It is a pleasure to commend this volume, which offers a lucid, objective and well-substantiated appraisal of a new social influence. It is a book that should be read and retained by all who are concerned with broadcasting, politics—and the common weal.

DOMINIC LE FOE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY STUDIES

The Age of Reason. Harold Nicolson. Constable. 45s.

Harold Nicolson could not write a dull book if he tried, and his latest is one of his best. Full of life, colour and learning, it covers a vast territory and portrays at least a score of men and women who have made history and enriched our cultural heritage. He is interested not only in what people were doing, but in what sort of human beings they were. His verdicts strike me as very fair. He comes nearest to enthusiasm in dealing with Locke, Horace Walpole and Goethe, nearest to indignation in exposing the impostors who batted on popular credulity. Most of his sitters, writers no less than rulers, are painted with their warts. His historical narratives are clear and firm, and the style flows briskly along. Perhaps *Eighteenth Century Studies* would have been a better title; for a substantial portion of the book is devoted to rulers and events—Louis XIV, Peter the Great, the rebellion of the American Colonists, Addison and Swift, Johnson and Wesley, who played no part in the ideological wind of change which we describe as the Enlightenment and the *Aufklärung*.

Since France is rightly regarded—and has always regarded herself—as the principal torchbearer of the Enlightenment, I shall approach my task by grouping the French chapters scattered through the book into a sequence. It begins with a colourful portrait of Louis XIV, *Le Grand Monarque*, *Le Roi Soleil*, the most perfect practitioner of Autocracy in the modern world, an industrious worker with a keen sense of responsibility, nearly, but not quite, a great man as well as a great ruler. More to the purpose of the book is the chapter on Bayle and Fontenelle, who challenged the rigid traditionalism which satisfied Bossuet and the King. Voltaire, the High Priest of the Age of Reason, is saluted by the author as “one of the wittiest men of all time and undaunted champion of the oppressed”. The life-long enemy of war and cruelty, intolerance and suppression was no revolutionary, not even a democrat. He was satisfied with the system of Benevolent Autocracy. He was never an atheist, for he firmly believed in an *Etre Suprême*, unlike most of the Encyclopedists. We meet this dazzling figure again in the chapter on Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great. He was the best conversationalist in Europe, but his tongue was as sharp as a razor.

Chapters follow on the Encyclopedists, two Salons, and the reign of Louis XV. The author dismisses recent attempts to allot him slightly higher marks than historians usually assign. His best quality was a dislike of cruelty and war, but the scandals of the *Parc aux Cerfs* did more to tarnish the prestige of the Monarchy than any other factor. The contrast between his self-indulgence and the dedicated lives of Frederick and Catherine, Maria Theresa and Joseph II, sowed the seeds of republicanism in France.

If Voltaire was the principal beacon-light of his country and his century, Rousseau did more than anyone to put it out. Sir Harold does not like him, and who could? If some excuse for his pranks is to be sought, it can only be in the fact that he was not quite normal and that he suffered from one of the worst of human afflictions—acute persecution mania. As to the vexed question whether, as he asserts in his *Confessions*, he sent five illegitimate children to the Foundling Hospital, the author believes that he was sexually impotent and that he invented the story to rebut a

charge that he was lacking in virility. Yet the sensibility introduced by "that maniac of genius" marked the end of the Age of Reason. "The age of science has since taught us that thought is more profitable than instinct and brain safer than feeling. Yet Rousseau, for all his muddled thinking, taught his contemporaries to develop a social conscience and to cultivate sensibility." Unlike Voltaire, born into a comfortable family, he had to work himself up and tradition sat even more lightly upon him. Unlike Voltaire he believed in the common man, and taught that history had been a process not of climbing up a ladder of civilisation, but of sliding downhill from the innocence and purity of primitive man. "*Tout vient pur des mains de dieu, tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme.*" How did Rousseau achieve his immense reputation? Partly by the magic of his style, partly because the *Age of Reason* had attracted the intellectuals, but not the man in the street.

The author is too well informed to attribute the French Revolution in any considerable degree to the workings of the *Age of Reason*. Like our English Civil War, that mighty drama had far more concrete causes than the challenge of the *Philosophes*.

Five chapters are devoted to England—Addison the polished essayist, Swift, the fiery genius, whom Sir Harold believes to be an illegitimate half-brother of the diplomatist Sir William Temple, in whose house he met poor little Stella, herself the illegitimate daughter of Sir William. The familiar figures of Dr. Johnson and Wesley follow, and it is a pleasure to find a warm tribute to Horace Walpole, whose voluminous Memoirs and even more voluminous correspondence are no less assured of immortality than the Memoirs of Saint-Simon. None of these shining figures had any contact with the Wind of Change sweeping across France. Leslie Stephen, in his great work, *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, defines that epoch as the century of Sound Common Sense. Readers of Sir Harold's survey might have expected a chapter on the rationalist David Hume, the only prominent Briton who mixed on equal terms with the *Philosophes* in Paris, and who was not only our greatest thinker of his century, but perhaps the greatest British thinker of all time with a possible exception of Locke.

Russia claims two chapters, the first on Peter the Great, the drunken epileptic savage, but also a man of genius who raised his backward country to the rank of a Great Power. Western thought, nationalist or otherwise, meant nothing to him, and his debt to the West was confirmed to the technique of shipbuilding and similar material lessons. The German rationalist princess, Catherine the Great, on the other hand, richly deserves a place in the portrait gallery of the Age of Reason. She was rooted in the ideology of the West, studying Montesquieu and Burke, corresponding with Voltaire and Grimm and appointing Diderot her librarian. These vivid chapters help us to understand Napoleon's celebrated verdict: *Grattez le Russe, vous trouverez le Tartare.*

And what of Germany? Sir Harold begins quite rightly with a chapter on Frederick the Great, "the Philosopher King", who made his little Prussia, with a population of two million, into a Great Power at the cost of four wars, unleashed by his rape of Silesia in the year of his accession. The author does not love him. Who ever did? His two best qualities were his dedication to his task and his refusal in his writings to make himself out better than he was. Though his earliest work was a refutation of Michiavelli, the Florentine tempter never possessed a more faithful disciple. International politics, he believed, were a matter of cool calculation, not of morals, and history was above all, a chapter of accidents.

The second German chapter is entitled *Sturm und Drang, 1770-1778*. No group of young writers in the eighteenth century was less influenced by the rationalist approach to life, for they lived on their emotions and were never "sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought." The name of the only survivor among the writings of

the group is the *Sorrows of Werther*, immortal as *Manon Lescaut* and *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and Goethe soon out-grew his early romanticism and widened his outlook to embrace all time and all existence. A chapter on Lessing, the father of German rationalists, and the outstanding *Philosophe* between Leibniz and Kant, would have been welcome.

It is a surprise in a book entitled *The Age of Reason* to find a chapter on the revolt of the American colonies, but a second chapter on the subject brings us much closer to the main theme of the book by a full-length portrait of Benjamin Franklin—journalist, inventor, politician, diplomatist. Here was the true *Philosophe*, the first to appear beyond the Atlantic, whose place in the temple of fame is as secure as that of Washington himself. The chapter on Tom Paine might fit in equally well with England, where he was born, or with America, where his writings helped to create the United States, or with France, where the author of *The Rights of Man*, answer to Burke's broadside against the Revolution, earned an invitation to sit in the Convention after the declaration of the Republic in 1792, though he could not speak a word of French. The compliment, however, was nearly his undoing, for his courageous refusal to vote for the death of the King aroused the suspicion of the Jacobins. He languished in prison for ten months, expecting every day to be led out to the guillotine, till he was freed by the efforts of the American Ambassador. His later years of obscurity, penury and drink, form a sad pendant to the brilliant career of an ill-educated man of humble descent, who had helped to make history.

I have left to the last the chapter entitled *Gullibility*. The age of Reason might also be called the Age of Unreason; and the frauds of the Comte de Saint Germain, the Venetian Casanova, and the Sicilian Giovanni Balsamo, who called himself Count Cagliostro, would have been impossible without a fairly wide-spaced disposition, even among well-educated people, to swallow any crude marvels that were thrust down their mouths. The days of the Enlightenment were warm and bright, but they did not penetrate very far across the fair land of France.

G. P. GOOCH

THE FUNCTION OF TEACHING

English for Maturity. David Holbrook. Cambridge University Press. 21s.

In form this is just another book on teaching methods—and how dreary such works can be! In fact this is much more. It is a deeply felt and passionately expressed protest against trends which threaten to send our whole educational system into reverse, and fetter teachers with an examination fetishism that will make them spiritually akin to the poor hacks of the Victorian system who crammed the 3R's under Payment by Results.

Such has been one of the unforeseen results of the Butler Act, and the cut-throat struggle at 11 plus. As a consolation prize for disappointed parents, the secondary modern school has to appear as a not-quite-so-good grammar school, instead of existing *sui generis*. The false idol of the public examination becomes its totem, and for unhappy teachers and children the rat race is on. The new comprehensive schools with their vast potential for good, follow the same *ignis fatuus*.

Mr. Holbrook sees them selling their birthright of experimental freedom for a mess of examination pottage. The modern schools not tied down to the arbitrary division of subjects imposed by the academic approach, can teach for living. Theirs is the high task of making the child at home in the world in which he lives. They can replace the lost springs of a vital popular life, and lay the foundations of a common culture.

In such a work the forceful use of the living word is fundamental. Mr. Holbrook pours scorn on the idea that mechanical exercises will produce literacy. This, he says, is a function of the whole mind, in which the drive comes from imagination. That he is no Johnny-head-in-air, but a practical teacher, the writer shows by detailed analysis of lessons, and by making available careful reference lists of sources, which should prove useful to other teachers.

Even more useful should be the fillip to the spirit of the teacher of the humanities. Wide-eyed waifs appeal on our hoardings for teachers. In these days of full employment, and a nearly universal extension of industrial pensions and paid holidays, more is needed to attract the right entrants than the grudging grant of another increment. There must be a pride of work that comes from consciousness of a place of value in the community. Mr. Holbrook has the faith that is infectious. Perhaps it is the general public who need to read him, and realise the passion and purpose that go to make the good teacher.

BEATRICE CURTIS

A TEACHER IN AFRICA

White to Move? Paul Foster. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 25s.

It is a source of frustration to home-based politicians that the more they know about the problems of Africa the less obvious the solutions appear. It is tempting therefore to ignore awkward facts which conflict with pre-conceived theories and sentiments. Regrettably many British politicians take this easy escape and justify the complaints of Europeans resident in Africa.

Bolder spirits, prepared to risk disillusion, can do no better than see Africa through the eyes of Father Foster. The eyes are wise, affectionate but clear. Father Foster lives and teaches at Makerere, the University College of East Africa at Kampala.

Expounding political philosophy to a Masai girl, a Muganda who is in touch with Moscow, and a six-foot-six Lugbara saving up for bride price, may seem a high-flown enterprise but it brings Father Foster very close to the divisions and the stresses, the ambitions and the inadequacies of young Africa.

From his teaching experience and many journeys throughout East Africa he has produced a valuable account of the divisions in belief, history and social customs which are still the greatest obstacle to progress. Solutions formed in England and imposed from above will break upon these reefs. Whether time, education or religion can melt the barriers is the important question. Father Foster's answer is of course the Christian one. It is supported by his profound warning which might apply far beyond Africa: "Power is a very potent temptation, while perception is an agonising task."

MICHAEL STEVENSON

A NEW TRANSLATION OF "THE CLOUDS"

The Clouds, by Aristophanes: translated by Robert Henning Webb. University of Virginia Press. \$4., Paperback, \$2.

Satirists make fun of philosophers, pedants, scientists and the *unco guid*, and when, in 423 B.C., Aristophanes in *The Clouds* savagely caricatured Socrates before Athenian playgoers, the teacher rose from his seat in protest so that the audience could compare him with the character shown on the stage. True, the play was awarded only the third prize; but 24 years later some of the mud remained on the public image of Socrates, and a court of 501 Athenians decreed his death.

This was Aristophanes' favourite among his 40 plays—of which 11 have sur-

vived—and it remains his foremost in modern interest; perhaps because the target of reforming satire then, as now, loomed large in clever-clever sophistry and corrupt dialectics. The plot hinges on one of the stock situations of comedy: a countryman with a city-bred wife and a spendthrift son seeking a way to defraud their creditors and turning to a School of New Learning (or tricky argument) to learn how best to do it.

Dr. Webb (1882-1952) has put us in his debt with a vigorous and flexible translation which makes the Greek play come alive and have point for modern eyes and ears. I have read several latter-day versions, including Mr. F. L. Lucas' spirited offering to the ordinary English reader, and the translation by Mr. Benjamin Bickley Rogers in the Mentor Books; and they all have their excellences. One gives the Socratic alternative to Zeus as "the great Eddy", another as "Rotation" and the third as "Vortex". I fancy Dr. Webb's version would act best of the three. It is certainly the best-annotated; and convincingly colloquial in the right places.

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

A PHILOSOPHICAL POEM

The Labyrinth Revisited. Nathaniel Micklem. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.

The adjective "unlikely" is the one that springs most readily to the mind on reading this book. It was unlikely that anyone should conceive the idea of presenting in 1,000 lines or so of rhymed stanzas a toughish piece of epistemological and philosophical argumentation; unlikely that that person should be the Principal Emeritus of Mansfield College; unlikely that, having conceived the idea, he should carry it out; and perhaps most unlikely of all that it should turn out to be the success it is.

The Preface explains how it came about:—

I wrote this book in careful, plodding prose,
Corrected every sentence; all was fit
For press and public, free from every pose
Or literary scandal, every bit
Tidy, exact. But when I finished it,
I felt that in the telling all the bright
Wonder was flown and quenched my vision's light.

In the First Part Demea, the mystic, Philo, the sceptic, and Cleanthes, the rational theist, set forth in dialogue form—and still in Rhyme Royal—their contrasted points of view. But the pithiest formulations and the cream of the poem are to be found in the Second Part, in which the brisk dialogue of Part I reverberates on through a quieter mood of reflection couched in the form of question and answer. For this Part Dr. Micklem has invented his own 19-line stanza, with the 6th, 11th and 17th lines short, while the three parts into which the stanza thus tends to be divided are pleasingly linked by the intricate rhyme-scheme:—

O'er Europe's fields the homing swallows fly
In annual pilgrimage; their passing glance
Upon the vineyards gives no thought of "France";
And learned text-books on geology
Tell not what was but that would have been
Had man beheld the scene.

The problem of the aesthetic and cognitive relation between man and nature is first set and then resolved by treating that relation as a revelation of God and of His incarnation and resurrection. The brief Epilogue—again in Rhyme Royal—which attempts a final summary of the argument of the whole, is rather less successful and even perhaps somewhat of an anti-climax. OWEN BARFIELD

COMING OF AGE

Imagings. David Holbrook. Putnam. 12s. 6d.

David Holbrook's poetry emerges in rich variety from perennial themes viewed in a refreshingly direct and individual way. In his first published volume, *Imagings*, he has collected 35 poems, gathered in a more or less direct relationship about the brief, beautifully inevitable lyric, *November Morning*.

Each poem has the impact of a fresh experience but all are concerned with defining and shaping the flow of man's perceptions of the visible world; with his experience of passion and love, of family life, of change and decay in the East Anglian countryside, of some of the effects of machine-bound contemporary life.

A recurring theme is the growth of love. More particularly, the growing-points of mature love are celebrated. The poet conveys the diverse aspects of adult non-illusion, rather than disillusion, and the bewildered pain recorded in *First Love* is resolved in the later "acceptances—growing to generosity and flowering sweeter" of *Apprehensions of Maturity*. In contemplative poems on the decay of man or of nature, there is often a regenerative flowering of one sort or another that makes the disenchantment bearable. This is achieved sometimes by highlighting the fresh, wondering perceptions of a child against the adult's sad knowledge that "faculties harden, pain becomes recognized": sometimes by the sudden revelation of growing plants newly thrusting through dead matter. These two symbols of life are fused in a poem called, *Yes, We Have Spring*, full of thrilling images, where the poet is "remembering . . .

Boy daffodil flares that still in middle age are embering

Visibly, smokingly, stirringly. But my manhood

Knows too how the axe can fall."

In one exquisite lyric, *Christ in the Cupboard*, there is a vivid awareness of a child's apprehension of spiritual truth.

David Holbrook's vigorous, natural rhythms move with a deceptive ease. His metaphor is exciting and powerful, his language rich and precise. He is one of the few poets who mark the coming-of-age of the contemporary mood and tone.

BETTY EDWARDS

A HUSBAND'S TRIBUTE

Dorothy. Lord Layton. Collins. 21s.

To be able to tell the story of a truly happy marriage lasting nearly half-a-century, is something few people, alas, can do; and this memoir of Dorothy, the wife of Lord Layton, will give pleasure to many who knew her. I had that pleasure on a few occasions. This book, unfortunately, must have a limited appeal for the younger reader, since many people referred to are no longer with us. It would perhaps have served its purpose better if published privately. It is a great love story concerning two talented people, who, in addition to producing three sons and four daughters, ended with 15 grandchildren in the decade of 1942 to 1951, all of whom were a great joy to the grandparents. Lord Layton has kept himself well in the background, but his life too has been a full one, including Chairman of *The Economist*, Chairman of the *News Chronicle*, and British Vice-President of the Council of Europe Assembly at Strasbourg, a movement of which he was a founder. With a growing family, and many political and social activities in which she played a leading part, her health became affected. She had taken on more than was bearable for most human beings. The description of her final illness is very moving, but somewhat protracted. From it we can see how much her talents had become stretched and exhausted in the service of others. She was a good, wise and talented woman of whom it is hoped more will be written at some time. Lord Layton tells us that he will deal later with his own many activities, in which his wife was only indirectly concerned, in the memoirs he is now preparing.

JOHN W. BENSON

NOTICES

OCCASION FOR OMSBUDSMAN (*Christopher Johnson*. 15s.). This is a pertinent and welcome study by Mr. T. E. Utley, undertaken at the request of the Society for Individual Freedom, arguing the need for further constitutional protection against the abuses of government action. The implementation of the Franks Report has greatly improved the subject's right of appeal from decisions of judicial tribunals. But, as Mr. Utley shows in a series of examples, the individual remains legally unprotected, or unaware of his rights, over a wide range of quasi-judicial and administrative decisions of government departments and executive bodies. The need for a remedy is becoming more widely recognized. In Sweden and Denmark, the independent Omsbudsman serves an invaluable function in investigating grievances against government decisions. In the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for August, 1960, Lady Iris Capell argued the case for a British equivalent. Mr. Utley inclines to the view that the functions of an Omsbudsman here might best be undertaken by a Committee or Committees of the House of Commons which "might undertake the task of examining and reporting on grievances against the central government". This would in effect enlarge the capacity and effectiveness of Members of Parliament in their present function of raising complaints against the government. On the other hand, there are, of course, many statutory executive bodies and nationalised undertakings for which the government have at present no responsibility in respect of their administration. Mr. Utley rejects the French *Conseil d'Etat* as alien to British constitutional traditions. He also rejects the individual Omsbudsman as impractical in this far larger and more complicated society; and a central Department for grievances might well "steadily increase in size, remoteness and ineffectiveness". This book does

a service in further ventilating an increasingly urgent problem.

EMPIRE INTO COMMONWEALTH (*Oxford University Press*. 7s. 6d.). This short volume contains the Chichele Lectures delivered at Oxford by Lord Attlee in May, 1960, on "Changes in the conception and structure of the British Empire during the last half century". These lectures deserve a wider publicity if only because Lord Attlee has taken a prominent part in the devolution from Empire into Commonwealth, particularly as a member of the Simon Commission on Indian Reform in 1928 and more latterly as Prime Minister. He speaks with obvious authority, for example, on the development and characteristics of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences. In the main, these lectures are the record of well-known events. He outlines the development with general and proper satisfaction, and has the occasional crack at the old order. For example, "in the latter part of the nineteenth century it seemed that the British in India had really begun to see themselves as the top caste in this caste-ridden country." On current problems, Lord Attlee is disappointingly reserved. He describes the well-known features of Commonwealth relations and the individual characteristics of its members. He refers, for example, to the "outstanding example" of South Africa's "failure to honour" the principle of equality of citizens and personal freedom. But he expresses no view as to the wisdom of Commonwealth membership.

WRITERS AND CRITICS Series (*Oliver & Boyd*. 3s. 6d.). Four new volumes have been added to this excellent series of short biographies on British, American and European writers. The additions are *Ionescu* by Richard N. Coe, *Brecht* by Ronald Gray, *Hemingway* by Stewart Sanderson and *Faulkner* by Michael Millgate.

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